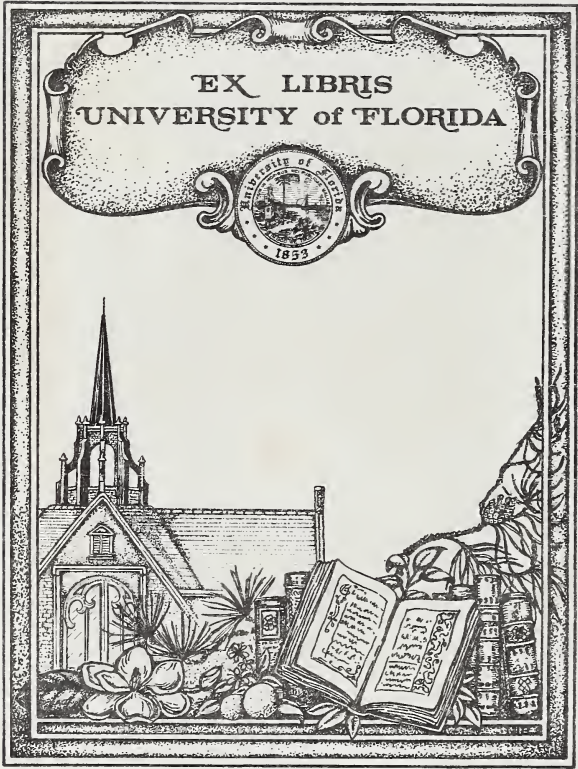


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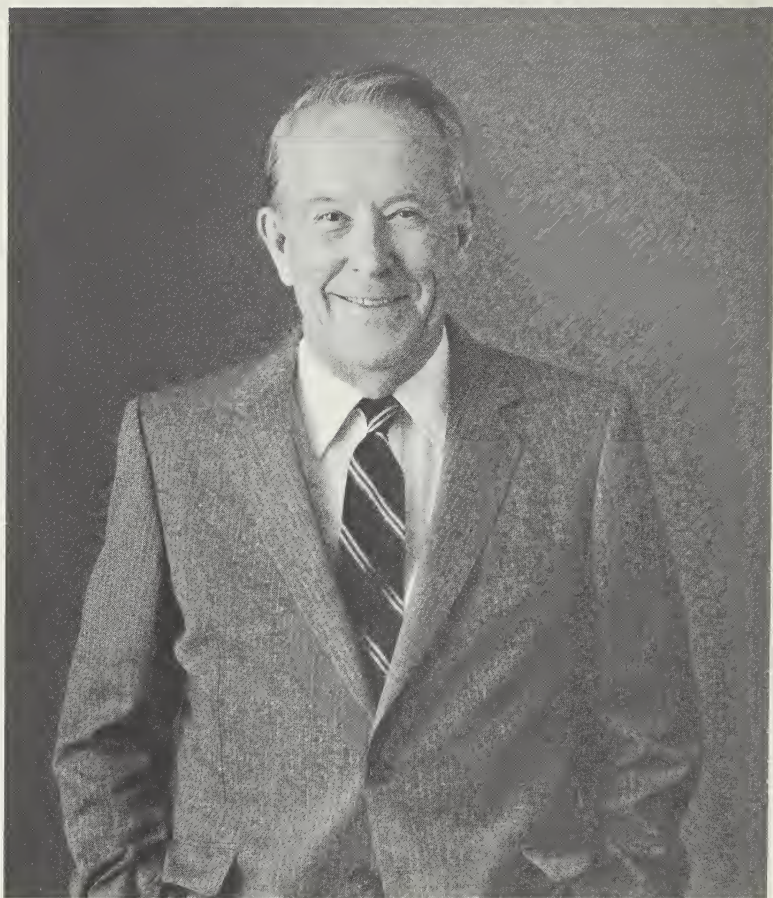




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Memorial Services

Held in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United
States, together with tributes presented in eulogy of

Henry M. Jackson

Late a Senator from Washington

Ninety-eighth Congress
First Session



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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Biography

HENRY MARTIN JACKSON was born in Everett, Wash., on May 31, 1912, and died there on September 1, 1983 at the age of 71. At his death, he was the senior U.S. Senator from the State of Washington and had served in Congress for nearly 43 years.

The son of Norwegian immigrants, Senator JACKSON received his early schooling in Everett, graduating in 1930 from Everett High School. He achieved a reputation for diligence as a carrier for the Everett Daily Herald during this period. He also acquired his famous nickname, "SCOOP," because one of his sisters thought he resembled a comic strip character of this name who managed to get others to do his work for him.

Senator JACKSON attended the University of Washington and received his law degree from the university's law school in 1935. He was admitted to the Washington bar and began practice with an Everett law firm. The lure of public life was strong, however, and he announced his candidacy for prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County in the summer of 1938. That fall, after what was then an innovative door-to-door campaign, he was elected to the prosecutor's office at the age of 26. He remained in public life until his death.

As prosecuting attorney, Senator JACKSON won a reputation as a foe of gambling and bootleggers, setting the stage for his election to Congress in 1940 from Washington's Second District. In the House, he became a specialist in military affairs and nuclear energy. During World War II he served in the Army as an enlisted man until recalled to his congressional duties by President Roosevelt. At the close of the war he accompanied U.S. troops as they liberated the survivors of Buchenwald. While serving in the House he played an influential role on issues of particular interest to the West like public lands, reclamation, and hydroelectric power development.

Senator JACKSON was reelected five times to the House of Representatives and, in 1952, challenged the incumbent Harry P. Cain for his Senate seat. Despite the Eisenhower landslide, he won a plurality of 135,000 votes.

In more than 30 years in the Senate, Senator JACKSON was deeply involved in the major issues of American political life, from the drama of the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954 to the fight for Soviet Jewry in the 1970's. He became an acknowledged authority on national security, energy, and environmental issues.

From 1963 to 1980, Senator JACKSON served as chairman of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources and its predecessor, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In this capacity, he played a leading role in the conservation legislation of the 1960's and the energy legislation of the 1970's. He was the author of the Alaska and Hawaii Statehood Acts and the landmark National Environmental Policy Act.

Senator JACKSON also served on the Governmental Affairs Committee where he chaired the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations for many years.

Senator JACKSON also served as a member of both the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Armed Services Committee for many years and was the ranking Democratic member of the Armed Services Committee at his death. He was an expert on nuclear weapons and strategic issues and a champion of Admiral Rickover and the nuclear navy. He was also a member of the Select Committee on Intelligence.

In 1960, President Kennedy considered Senator JACKSON as a Vice-Presidential nominee but later chose Lyndon Johnson. Senator JACKSON served as chairman of the Democratic National Committee during the Kennedy Presidential campaign.

Although picked by his colleagues in informal polls as the Senator best qualified to be President, Senator JACKSON was defeated in efforts to win the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972 and 1976. Thereafter he devoted his energies primarily to the work of the Senate, concentrating on the Armed Services and Energy and Natural Resources Committees.

Senator JACKSON was a member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. He also served on the board of advisers of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Public Affairs and the board of overseers of Whitman College in Walla Walla, Wash.

In 1961, Senator JACKSON married Helen Hardin of Albuquerque, N. Mex. They had two children. Their daughter, Anna Marie, is a junior at Stanford University. Their son, Peter Hardin, is a senior at St. Albans School in Washington.

Funeral services for Senator JACKSON, attended by Vice President Bush, Chief Justice Burger, and many Members of the Senate, were held in the First Presbyterian Church of Everett on September 7, 1983. Burial followed in the Evergreen Cemetery in Everett.

MEMORIAL SERVICES
FOR
HENRY M. JACKSON

Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *September 12, 1983.*

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the President pro tempore, Strom Thurmond, a Senator from South Carolina.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Sovereign Lord of history, as the curtain rises on the final act of the Senate this year, the world is in confusion: wars and near wars on many fronts threaten world peace—international relations are strained and fragile—millions in America are unemployed—millions are poor, voiceless, and afraid. As the drama unfolds in this Chamber, may it be of substance and not charade. Help each player to take seriously his role in the light of the unprecedented crises. Let business be done here which will address itself to the real issues and not to games with rules and precedents.

Father in heaven, since we last met, the Senate has lost one of its greatest statesmen. May the memory of the legacy left us by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, which has been verbalized by so many of his peers, motivate the Senate to its individual and corporate finest hours.

Deliver from petty animosities, from the sacrifice of principle for political expediency. And, dear God, whatever the drama of these next weeks bring forth, let it not be comedy. In Jesus' name. Amen.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I have a statement from Senator Warren Magnuson here that he delivered at SCOOP's funeral in Everett. Mr. President, I think it would be appropriate for Maggie's statement to be at the beginning of the collection of

our eulogies for SCOOP and ask unanimous consent that it be so printed. I also ask unanimous consent that the attached statement be printed at this point in the Record.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR WARREN MAGNUSON

I naturally was shocked and stunned when I was informed of Senator JACKSON's death—untimely as it was. I often thought of SCOOP as being indestructible. His personal habits, his way of life just made him that indestructible to me.

It's almost unreal, that as I stand here * * * well, I couldn't sleep that night. I tried to go to sleep, hoping I'd wake up and it was just a dream. But it's real. As I stand here beside the casket, I know it's real.

He lived a great life. But he's going to leave a great void that I doubt any person can fill. It's going to take a big man to fill even partially his shoes.

We served together in the House and the Senate almost a half a century. That's a long, long time. We worked as a team, shoulder-to-shoulder, on different projects and problems which faced our State.

Now that team is dissolved. I don't know when it will ever come back again—44 years in Congress and 28 years in the U.S. Senate. It not only is a long, long time, but it brings back many memories to me, that if I tried to list them all I'd have you here all afternoon. So we mourn his loss and that void. I don't know when it's ever going to be filled.

There was a funeral in Rome years ago in which a prominent Roman stood up and said, "I've come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." I'm going to paraphrase that and reverse it: "I come not to bury HENRY JACKSON, but to praise him." Because his achievements, his contribution to world peace, to human rights, and to the people of this State and the Nation will be going on and on forever, and he'll be immortal by them.

His private and personal life, and his political life, were almost immaculate. And do you people realize, like I do, that there's never been one breath of scandal that's ever hovered around HENRY JACKSON in half a century of public service? That's something in this day and age.

I was always amazed and marveled at his knowledge and grasp of foreign affairs. And I watched him over the years grow up to be a giant, not only in the Congress, but in international affairs.

He always said to me over the years, I'm going to vote tomorrow—whenever the vote would be in the Senate—to what I think is in the best interest of these United States. Sometimes he was criticized for it, but he never wavered; he never swayed to the winds of popular opinion.

And people sought and went to him for advice and wisdom on foreign affairs. He was almost a prophet—a prophet in his time. He was pretty nearly always right, and that's what made him what he was.

There's another side of SCOOP that I knew very well. That is his human side. There never was a problem in all the years we were together, too small for SCOOP to take time out of his busy world to help. And there's scores of incidents, hundreds, that I went through with him.

He used to drop by my office pretty nearly every morning when we were in session. He'd say "Who's in trouble today? Who at home is in trouble? Who can we help?" And we'd get together and work it out, the best we knew how.

So when the headstone, is written, I hope they'll say, he was a humane, compassionate man. I hope they'll say "here lies HENRY JACKSON, a decent man, a loyal public servant—but above all, a man of the people." God bless you, SCOOP.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, it is with both great sadness and a deep sense of honor that I rise to memorialize my senior colleague in the U.S. Senate, a dominant figure on the national political landscape, the leading statesman of my home State, who served its people as an elected officer for almost 45 years; and a man who was esteemed, admired, and loved by his colleagues in this body for more than 30 years, the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON.

Today, we celebrate his life and his service. HENRY JACKSON was not a man who would have sought public eulogies or commemoration. He preferred the quiet accomplishment of legislation passed, agreements reached, and the people protected and defended. He would have regarded these as his true memorial, as indeed they are. It is, nevertheless, well to remind ourselves of the nature of this man and of the magnitude of his accomplishments, and to record them for those who did not know Senator JACKSON, that they might understand how he came to a place of such high standing in his colleagues', and his countrymen's eyes.

Born the son of Norwegian immigrants, SCOOP JACKSON's life personified the glory and unlimited opportunity of the American experience. A man who worked to put himself through school, he rose purely on the merits of his own intelligence, diligence, and caring. It is a little old fashioned today to tout the character-building aspects of hard work and self-reliance, but no one who knew HENRY JACKSON ever doubted their truth.

Shortly after finishing law school, HENRY JACKSON was elected prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County, Wash. Two years later, at 28, he was elected to the Congress, and he spent the rest of his life in this institution. His career in the Congress spanned the administrations of nine Presidents. He arrived during the New Deal era of President Franklin Roosevelt, served with distinction for a dozen years in the House of Representatives, and for more than 30 years in the Senate. During

that period, HENRY JACKSON participated in virtually every great national debate of his time. Never a man to bend with prevailing political winds, his basic positions changed little over the years. His entire career is testimony to his certitude that clarity and consistency of purpose serves one's country far better than adherence to transient political trends.

For what shall we remember SCOOP JACKSON? Each Member of this body, each friend, will have his private answer to that question. But surely any public accounting of the man will recall first and foremost his deep love of country, its people, and its institutions. HENRY JACKSON was a true patriot.

While HENRY JACKSON occupied himself with the business of the whole world, he never forgot his origins. He drew his strength from the working people of Everett and the lovely farms and towering mountains of Snohomish County. He never forgot the friends of his youth.

His was a love of country born of knowledge of its people and commitment to its values. HENRY JACKSON was a man with the strength to defend what he loved. His recognition that his country was not perfect never led him to doubt that it is the last, best hope of Earth, and his abiding faith in the people and principles of this Nation were a source of steadfastness and resolution to which all good people could repair during times of uncertainty.

Always a firm believer in a strong defense, even when this was not a popular position, HENRY JACKSON never forgot what he witnessed as a young Congressman just preceding and during World War II. After a visit to liberated Buchenwald, he had no illusions about the fundamental and permanent conflict between the United States and the forces of totalitarianism. He worked constantly to remind his fellow Senators and citizens of the overriding necessity to assure that America would always be strong. His straightforward love of country was an example for all of us.

That experience at Buchenwald also burned into HENRY JACKSON's conscience an impression of the Holocaust which made him an unwavering defender of the right of the Jewish people to a homeland in an Israel strong enough to defend its independence, and the right of Jews and others everywhere to leave freely the nations which persecute them. Israel had no firmer friend.

Senator JACKSON will also be remembered for his unrelenting defense of the civil rights of other persecuted groups. During the worst of the McCarthy era, when panic and fear threatened the reputations of many decent men and women, HENRY JACKSON, then a newly elected Senator, had the courage to stand up against public panic, and to remind Americans of the real threat posed to the civil liberties of many Americans.

Senator JACKSON was a leading defender of all who are persecuted for conscience throughout the world. His activities took the form not only of speeches and reminders of the violations of human rights in the Soviet sphere, past and present. But also of legislation which translated that outrage into concrete action. SCOOP JACKSON reminded the world that the United States is heir to, and of necessity defender of, a tradition in which securing basic human rights for all people is an inseparable cornerstone of foreign policy. On issues of basic human rights, SCOOP knew that the securing of the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" must remain forever a goal of the United States.

Senator JACKSON also left us a record of real achievement in protecting our environment and our natural resources. In this course, he was led by the environment in which he grew up, and by his sense that we are all the trustees for all future generations of Americans. One of his landmark achievements was the National Environmental Policy Act, passed in 1970. But this was only a part of Senator JACKSON's legacy. In my home State, we have a beautiful national park—the North Cascades National Park—which will stand for all time as a monument to Senator HENRY JACKSON.

But SCOOP JACKSON also knew that we grow, gain strength, and provide opportunities for our people by a proper development of our resources. Irrigation and water projects along the mighty Columbia River owe a great deal to HENRY JACKSON. He brought balance and reason to debates too often inflamed by rhetoric and passion.

Balance and reason were always characteristic of Senator JACKSON. He was a curious and intellectual man with wide-ranging interests and a healthy respect for the facts. As this is visible in his legislative history, so also was it apparent in his personal style. My friend SCOOP always wanted to know more, to understand more. To solicit another reason he was con-

stantly asking questions, not rhetorically, but from a burning desire to learn.

HENRY JACKSON's public record is well documented. He has permanent living memorials across the Nation and around the world, in the cherished memories of all those who love liberty, and the democratic process. Senator JACKSON was a man who elevated the meaning of the word "politician".

What is not a matter of public record, but is engraved on the memories of those who knew him, was the man's great humanity. SCOOP JACKSON was never a man who allowed important responsibilities to inflate his own view of himself. He was a man impatient with pomposity, and generous with his warmth. How often, and how easily, could SCOOP JACKSON put a gathering at ease with a humorous comment, directed most frequently at himself.

HENRY JACKSON was in all things a man of the people. Although he spent a lifetime in our Nation's Capital, he did so without ever leaving the countryside of Washington State. He knew, and was known, in every town and county. Congressman Al Swift tells of driving with SCOOP JACKSON along the back roads near Silvana, in Snohomish County, relating the names of each of the owners of the farms and pointing with special relish to the home of a Republican farmer, who, said SCOOP, "voted for me for prosecutor."

Perhaps I may be excused for being somewhat less thrilled by that anecdote than Congressman Swift was.

The sense of loss in Washington State now is personal and immediate, even for many who never met SCOOP JACKSON but felt that they nevertheless knew him, and he, them.

Senator JACKSON leaves another personal legacy: A legion of men and women who worked on his staff and his campaigns over more than four decades. These men and women are scattered now across the country, around the world, and throughout the State of Washington, some in public pursuits and some in private. All were changed by their association with SCOOP; all are the larger for it.

As Tom Foley, now majority whip of the House, put it, "For all of us who served him, it will remain to the end of our days a matter of enormous pride."

Finally, his intimates knew him as a devoted family man. He came to marriage and family relatively late in life, and no

doubt this fact heightened his appreciation of both. We, in the Senate, may have thought that SCOOP belonged to us; his family knew better. No one who attended Senator JACKSON'S funeral and listened to Anna Marie and Peter Jackson pay tribute to their father eloquently, thoughtfully, and emotionally could doubt what HENRY JACKSON meant to his children, or his pride in them.

No one who has ever basked in the sunlight of Helen Jackson's joy, strength, and peace could doubt HENRY JACKSON'S deep love for her, or hers for him.

Today, Mr. President, we pray for the country and for the Senate. But an additional special prayer must be said for his wife, Helen, his daughter, Anna Marie, and his son, Peter. The time has long since passed when SCOOP was theirs alone. We thank them for sharing him with us.

And now, Mr. President, I ask your indulgence for a few more personal remarks. Although I first met Senator JACKSON more than 20 years ago, I came to know him well and personally only beginning with my election to this body.

Senator JACKSON was a friend, admirer, and fierce supporter of Warren Magnuson during all of Senator Magnuson's career. He chaired most of Senator Magnuson's campaigns, including his last. But within the hour of the declaration of my victory, SCOOP JACKSON called me, congratulated me warmly, and offered his guidance and support for me in this new challenge.

From that day until the day of his death, we never exchanged a harsh word. We met constantly to consider and to advance the interests of our constituents without exception, to the best of my memory, we joined in every initiative designed to promote the betterment of our State. The blood of friendship and respect was thicker than the water of partisanship.

I knew HENRY JACKSON as an example to emulate, a friend to delight in, and a wise counselor to whom to turn on occasions too numerous to count. I will miss his company deeply and forever.

Mr. President, it has been said that a constitutional statesman is a man of "common opinions and uncommon abilities."

We may be forever grateful to HENRY JACKSON that his compassionate but practical world view is now as prevalent as it is, for it was in large measure his uncommon abilities which helped to guide us to this point in our history as a people. It is

for us now to remind ourselves and our children of the virtues of patriotism, courage, and humanity which made HENRY JACKSON so great; to rededicate ourselves to these virtues; and to give thanks that we were allowed by our Creator to be changed and enriched by his company.

Mr. President, in addition to my own remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have included in the Record at this point remembrances of HENRY JACKSON which have appeared recently in the press in the State of Washington.

I ask unanimous consent that an article by Richard Larsen, of the Seattle Times, dated September 4, 1983, be printed in the Record; an article from the Seattle Times by Ross Anderson and Carlton Smith, dated September 7, 1983, be printed in the Record, an article by Richard Larsen dated September 8, 1983, be printed in the Record; together with a second article by Mr. Larsen on that same date; and two columns by Bob Woods in the Wenatchee World be printed in the Record.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times, Sept. 4, 1983]

SCOOP—HE WORKED HARD TO TRANSFORM HIS HOPES TO REALITY

(By Richard W. Larsen)

EVERETT.—A stubby, studious Norwegian kid, he grew up with the aroma of sawdust in his nostrils, plodding along his route, delivering newspapers to the small framehouses along Everett streets and down on the bustling waterfront where smoke from the sawmills blackened the sky.

He always felt especially uncomfortable at one stop along his newsboy route: That was where he quietly climbed those darkened stairs to leave the day's paper at one of Everett's more infamous whorehouses.

It was a time for the boy to begin forming some ideas about morality and government and law enforcement and politics. And he dreamed a young boy's dream of one day becoming a U.S. Senator, maybe even President of the United States.

And he dreamed a poor kid's dream of maybe, one day, living in a great home like the mansion overlooking the Everett harbor where the town's millionaire banker, William Butler, lived.

SCOOP.

His older sister, Gertrude, applied that nickname to little HENRY MARTIN JACKSON. "SCOOP" was a character in the newspaper comic page of the day. The little funny-paper SCOOP had a knack of getting others to do his chores for him and that, said Gert, always kidding him, was "our HENRY."

Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, 71, was pronounced dead at 9:25 p.m., Thursday, at Everett's Providence Hospital.

News of his death stunned Washington State and caused reverberations in Washington, D.C., Israel, the Soviet Union, and other nations.

In his lifetime, the American Presidency had just barely eluded his grasp. But as the Senate's most steadfast Cold Warrior through more than three decades, JACKSON may have made as much imprint on international policies and events as any President.

JACKSON would smile with pride as he described how he was viewed by leaders in the Soviet Union. "You know what they say about me," he remarked, "They say that I'm (and he here used a mock Russian accent) 'a Verry Dendgerrous Man.'"

He was proud that his constant warnings about the Soviet Union caused him always to be, in the Russian view, one of the most dangerous of Americans. "A lot of people think I have an obsession about the Russians," he'd say. "But I don't have an obsession.

"It's just that Russia is the only country in Europe that's never known freedom * * *. During the first ABM debate * * * I pointed out that the Russian leaders were the product of the Stalin terror and that 17 million people died and they—the leaders—knew what was going on."

It's a haunting thought that SCOOP JACKSON would lie dead in a hospital emergency ward the same day the entire free world was reeling under the shock of what the Soviet Union had just done—shot down a defenseless airliner. The action was, JACKSON said only hours before his death, a barbaric example of what he had said for decades—that the Soviet Union is a government steeped in paranoia, a system of unpredictable rulers and a world menace that requires constant vigilance.

Everett's Providence Hospital. That's where, through a chance encounter, young HENRY JACKSON's life would turn toward politics.

He was 12 when his mother and father (his dad was a laborer, a concrete mason) took him to Providence Hospital to have his tonsils removed. While there, he formed a friendship with an Irish kid in the adjoining bed, another 12-year-old tonsillectomy patient, John Salter.

They talked about their life ambitions and hopes. JACKSON already had formed one dream. When a teacher at Longfellow School had asked students what they wanted to be when they grew up, JACKSON had replied "President of the United States." Or, he added later, "a U.S. Senator."

As time passed, the friendship between JACKSON and Salter grew. In the wily, aggressive Salter, JACKSON found a friend who would eventually develop into an effective political campaign organizer. In the sober, stiffly straight JACKSON, Salter found a man who would be an effective Mister Clean candidate.

By 1935, JACKSON had finished law school at the University of Washington and, while awaiting the results of his bar exam, he took a job with Salter in a Snohomish County relief office.

"We'd go out into the rural areas to check on the welfare needs of the poor people," JACKSON remembered. "You know, you could just see the humiliation in the eyes of those people, especially the older people. They'd worked hard all their lives and here they were in total poverty * * *. They hadn't failed. The institutions of government had failed them."

JACKSON was understandably molded as a social liberal, a New Deal Democrat.

He was only 26 when he and Salter hatched the idea of a JACKSON campaign for prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County. His sister, Gertrude, helped to organize it, and young friends from the relief office also pitched in. "The kids" hustled votes door-to-door around Everett and other towns.

It helped that the incumbent prosecutor, Al Swanson, was a heavy drinker and had a tarnished image. JACKSON won the Democratic nomination—and the election—in a landslide. He turned into a crusading, strict-law-enforcement prosecutor and was given the nickname "SODA POP JACKSON." He was that oddity, a county politician who didn't drink booze.

In 1940, there was an open seat in Congress and "the kids"—JACKSON as candidate and Salter as manager—were in action again. An opponent warned voters, "Don't send two 28-year-old kids to Congress." Salter capitalized on that, using slogans emphasizing JACKSON's youth and vigor.

Helped by another Roosevelt landslide, JACKSON won the Second District seat in Congress and Salter went with him to Washington, D.C., as his administrative assistant.

When they got off the train there, neither knew the difference between the Capitol and the White House, Salter recalled. But they would soon form one of the most effective political teams Congress ever had.

In late 1945, JACKSON paid a congressional visit to Norway. There, for the first time, he encountered the Russian presence in Europe, at the dawn of the cold war. He observed some Red Army soldiers in Oslo, repatriating Russians who had been prisoners during World War II.

"I remember how reluctant most of those Russians were to go back to Russia," he said. "They knew they'd have even less freedom there."

Through all his years in Congress, first the House, then the Senate, JACKSON would be almost unchanging in his views—a social liberal on domestic issues, a stern adversary of the Soviet Union in foreign policy, a great friend of Israel, a man often viewed by many Americans, as well as Russians, as a dangerous saber rattler.

For JACKSON, that boyhood dream of becoming President of the United States would be always elusive and would bring more than one heartache.

It began in Los Angeles one summer day in 1960. John F. Kennedy had won the Democratic nomination and now the excited conjecture turned to who would be his choice for Vice President.

HENRY JACKSON of Washington was summoned to the Kennedy suite of the Biltmore Hotel and, as he pushed through a crowd of newsmen in the hallway, there were the shouts:

"Senator! Do you want to be Vice President?"

"Yes; I do." JACKSON replied directly, as always.

JACKSON was already a well-known Senator, a clean-cut, effective man, liked by his colleagues and popular with the press corps. He and Robert Kennedy had become friends during the McCarthy committee hearings, and Robert had urged his brother to select JACKSON as his running mate.

The Kennedys told him he was one of those under highest consideration, probably the top choice. Then JACKSON returned to his room at the Biltmore to await a Kennedy phone call making it official. His wait would be in vain.

In a last-minute change of mind, Kennedy decided it would be best, in the interest of protocol, to at least offer the Vice-Presidential nomination to the Senate majority leader, Lyndon Johnson of Texas.

To everyone's surprise, Johnson accepted.

JACKSON was asked to make the announcement to the press corps that day. It was a poignant event remembered by everyone who was there.

JACKSON stood before the reporters to say that "Senator Kennedy called me to advise that, after careful consideration, he had decided to place in nomination the name of Senator Lyndon Johnson for the good of the ticket * * *."

Some JACKSON workers stood with tears streaming down their faces. Reporters watched as JACKSON bravely went on, hiding his own disappointment:

"No one should enter politics unless he is a good sport. I will do whatever Senators Kennedy and Johnson want me to do. I will do everything a good sport should do."

JACKSON that year was given the token post of National Democratic chairman. Johnson would become Vice President.

The day after John Kennedy's assassination, a Senate colleague said to JACKSON, "You know SCOOP, what would be happening to you today if * * *." He broke off the sentence. JACKSON had that same thought of course as Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as President.

In 1972, 2 years after winning Senate reelection by a landslide, JACKSON staged his own national campaign for the Presidency. It would turn out to be another heartbreaking experience. America's travail over the Vietnam war had touched JACKSON. As an advocate of American military strength, JACKSON became a favorite target of antiwar demonstrators.

Once, to the horror of Secret Service agents protecting him, a demonstrator splattered an egg on JACKSON's head.

As he campaigned from State to State, JACKSON stirred little enthusiasm. His earnest but plodding speeches became the butt of some jokes: "SCOOP JACKSON gives a fireside speech and the fire falls asleep."

That campaign ran out of money and ended in tatters. Even so, when George McGovern easily won the Democratic nomination in 1972, JACKSON was the runner-up in the convention voting. He became leader of the Democratic party's "loyal opposition" to the McGovern liberals.

JACKSON admirers held "a victory party" in Miami Beach that year to salute his good showing. "I'm proud to have SCOOP JACKSON as a friend and I know that he'll be a force in the party in 1976," said one of the guests at that JACKSON party.

The speaker was a man who had placed JACKSON's name in nomination at that convention, Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

In 1976, JACKSON came back with a better-financed, better-organized campaign and was a front-runner for the Democratic nomination for President. He scored major victories, winning the Massachusetts and New York primaries. A victory in Pennsylvania that year would be crucial and JACKSON campaigned hard there, even going down into a coal mine to shake hands.

But again, everything seemed to go wrong. As returns came into his Philadelphia hotel room election night, JACKSON's body seemed to sag. "It looks pretty bad," he sighed between phone calls. He seemed, again, to be fighting back the tears.

Others in the room, though, shed tears of disappointment for SCOOP. Jimmy Carter, JACKSON's ally of the previous campaign, had won Pennsylvania and would go on to win the Presidency.

JACKSON and Helen Hardin met in a Senate elevator in January 1961. He was a notoriously shy, 49-year-old bachelor, and she was 29, the receptionist in the Senate office of a JACKSON friend, Clinton Anderson of New Mexico. They were married late that year and honeymooned in Hawaii. Friends in Washington howled when they heard that JACKSON had interrupted their honeymoon to attend a Navy briefing at Pearl Harbor on the Communist submarine menace in the Pacific.

Helen Jackson became a model Senator's wife and mother. JACKSON became a devoted husband and father. But he also was a 24-hour-a-day politician and Senator, a voracious reader.

JACKSON had an almost magic touch with Washington voters. In 1982, 2 years after the voters turned out Democrat Warren Magnuson, the State's veteran senior Senator, JACKSON won reelection by nearly 69 percent. There were reasons: JACKSON seemed as comfortable meeting with executives in the corporate board room as he was shaking hands around a labor hall.

JACKSON's political style was a model for many young Congressmen: Tom Foley, now majority whip in the House, graduated from the JACKSON staff and patterned his successful career after JACKSON's.

JACKSON seemed always to be remarkably fit, following a regimen of daily swimming and avoiding those rich foods he secretly loved. "My mother used to spoil me," he once recalled. "She'd always put extra whipped cream on my dessert. I love whipped cream. I just have to avoid it." He also largely avoided alcohol.

Thursday, though, he complained that he wasn't feeling well. His face appeared tired, gray. His voice seemed tired, too, as he delivered his sharp criticisms of the Soviet action against the jetliner.

And that Everett mansion on Grand Avenue overlooking the harbor, the one owned by banker Butler, the elegant home JACKSON envied as a kid?

Of course the Jacksons purchased it. It became their Washington State home where they enjoyed entertaining friends. JACKSON once flashed his sparkling Scandinavian grin and, kidding his Viking ancestry of which he was so proud, revealed his pride in the home:

"Wouldn't old Mr. Butler turn over in his grave if he knew that a Democrat—the blockhead son of an immigrant Norwegian laborer—owned his big house?"

It was while he was in his bed, in that home—perhaps terribly stressed by the Soviet assault on the sensibilities of the civilized world—that SCOOP JACKSON's heart stopped beating.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times, Sept. 7, 1983]

EVERETT GATHERS TO REMEMBER

(By Ross Anderson and Carlton Smith)

EVERETT.—They came in three-piece suits or patterned polyester * * * in blazers or blue jeans * * * in Legionnaire's caps or winged eyeglasses. They came in new cars, old cars * * * on buses and on foot * * * some leaning on canes, some aboard skateboards.

Young, old, or in-between, all came to remember.

Against a background of low gray clouds that scudded fitfully in from the sea, a town came to its city center last night to pay homage to the Senator who, for all his international stature, never abandoned his milltown roots.

A capacity crowd of 1,500 jammed the Everett Civic Auditorium, as Senator HENRY JACKSON was mourned and praised, but mostly missed in the town of his birth, his life and, finally, his death last week at the age of 71.

Another 300 or so watched solemnly via closed-circuit television in the nearby Everett High School cafeteria. Thousands more in their homes watched a live broadcast by a local station.

JACKSON had walked among the most powerful people in the world, but to the people of Everett, he was just "SCOOP," everyone's family friend.

"Think of it," said Representative Al Swift, Everett's Democratic Congressman. "Senator JACKSON advised Presidents, conferred with the great minds, and worked with the most powerful leaders of the world.

"But we saw him frequently here, at home dedicating the new YMCA or meeting with local officials or chatting with old friends."

Swift's modulated voice, absent its usual dramatic animation, was one of several diverse accents that delivered eulogies. But like the others, he focused on JACKSON's link with his hometown.

"There are men and women who move in important circles, doers of important things who will tell you they do it for 'the people,' 'the people' of faceless abstraction," the Congressman said. "People never became abstract to SCOOP because he held on to his touchstone of reality, which was this State and this community.

"He thought in terms of people who he could see in his mind, real people, with faces and names, and children, and successes and sorrows."

The same message came from four of JACKSON's old friends—Rabbi Raphael Levine, Stan Golub, Dr. Haakon Ragde, and Robert M. Humphrey.

In a whimsical, homespun address, JACKSON's old friend Humphrey recollected a boyhood pack trip into the Cascades.

"It was really quite a trip for six young boys. It was here that SCOOP first demonstrated his ability to work with people. He always managed to get Ivan or me to do his chores * * *.

"I think it was also here that he got his love for the mountains and streams and wildlife that he fought to protect during his long life. He was an environmentalist long before it became fashionable."

JACKSON's ties to Everett were matched by his charity—particularly his scholarship fund for local students, Humphrey said.

"I never knew him to take an easy dollar, or to sell out his heartfelt convictions for a campaign contribution."

The superlatives applied to JACKSON ranged from "a national treasure," as Golub called him, to "the instrument of God on Earth"—Rabbi Raphael Levine's description.

Ragde, who with JACKSON aide Denny Miller, found JACKSON stricken last week from the heart ailment which killed him, spoke of his first meeting with JACKSON in an ill-equipped civilian hospital in South Vietnam in 1965.

JACKSON, Ragde said, was by himself, without entourage. After talking with Ragde, JACKSON promised to have a large amount of medical supplies delivered to the struggling hospital. Ragde had heard those promises before, from other officials. But this time the supplies arrived, and so did offers of assistance from American military medical personnel.

Ragde spoke of the young JACKSON, who as a third-term Congressman, in 1945, visited the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald, an experience he would never forget.

"He vowed to do everything in his power to help the Jews avoid another tragedy such as Buchenwald," Ragde said.

The memorial service was rescheduled from a local church at the request of JACKSON's widow, who feared that Everett citizens would be unable to squeeze in beside the political elite and media who converged on the town.

And indeed, inside the auditorium and nearby cafeteria, millworkers and Shriners mingled with the State's politically powerful, including some who had clashed with JACKSON and others now being mentioned as his possible successor.

But it was the people of Everett who felt they saw JACKSON most clearly.

Person after person who came to the memorial service spoke of JACKSON as a close family friend, remembering longstanding connections between the Senator and brothers, sisters, parents, and even children.

"He was a very big part of our life," said Pat Ernesto of Everett. "He sponsored our youngest daughter at the University of Washington. He was the most natural, caring person. You'd recognize it immediately.

"We weren't aware of what we really had. What we had was a real jewel. He was the sort of politician every politician should be, the kind we all want but never seem to get."

"I was born and raised in Everett," said Iris Tompkins, now of Seattle. "My mother went to school with his sister. My parents always had kind of a personal interest in SCOOP. He sent Christmas cards to my mom for years.

"I feel like I lost someone in my own family."

While the service went on inside the auditorium, passersby on the streets of Everett stopped momentarily to listen as the voices of the eulogizers boomed out from a set of loudspeakers on the exterior wall of the auditorium.

In the gathering gloom of the oncoming night, the sounds reverberated off the white brick facing of Everett High School across the street, from which JACKSON had graduated in 1930.

As the clouds rushed eastward, a lone woman sat motionlessly on a bench listening to the echoing speakers, her white hair blowing in the wind.

"I suppose I'm like hundreds of others," she said. "He'd been in office a long time. I knew him well. He went to high school with my sister. The last

time I saw him was last fall at our 50th high school reunion. He was busy but he stopped in to give a short speech.

"You'd never hear a thing about him that wasn't good.

"He was 71, and our President is 72. He's just 2 months younger than I am."

The woman was silent for a time as she listened to Swift talk about JACKSON.

"He drew his inspiration from the people of his State," boomed Swift's voice from the speakers, "and he let us know that we were a vital part of it."

A youth in a nylon jacket and jeans stopped on the sidewalk and jammed his hands in his pockets and cocked his head to listen.

The woman spoke again, recalling JACKSON's last public appearance, in which he had angrily denounced the Soviet Union for that nation's missile attack on an unarmed Korean Air Lines jetliner. "People who saw it on television," she said, "said he was real excited about it.

"Maybe," she said after another pause, "if the blamed Russians hadn't shot down that plane, he'd still be alive."



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times, Sept. 8, 1983]

SCOOP HELPED MOLD SENATE TAPESTRY, TRADITION

(By Dick Larsen)

With quiet Scandinavian perseverance, he had added so many of his own strong stitches to the continuous tapestry of history and tradition that is the U.S. Senate.

So the powers of today's Senate came today to say farewell to him.

Senator Baker * * * Senator Byrd * * * Senator Kennedy * * * Senator Goldwater * * *. It was like a rollcall of the Senate.

There's a policy that, because of security worries in a turbulent world, because of fears about disruption of the U.S. Government if calamity were to strike, no more than 30 Senators shall ever attend the same gathering outside the Capital.

But, for SCOOP, that was waived.

"Anyone who wants to go to Senator JACKSON's funeral should do so," ruled a Senate leader, Robert Byrd of West Virginia. So 40 Senators today flew into Paine Field, then were taken to the First Presbyterian Church for the funeral services for SCOOP JACKSON.

Perhaps no one who ever served there was more closely, lovingly wedded to the Senate. JACKSON was a special creature of the U.S. Senate. And he helped create some of that which is the Senate today.

Among today's mourners were colleagues who had come to know him at diverse times through JACKSON's long career in the Capitol.

Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia remembers a "Young HENRY" when he first arrived in Congress. (The courtly Randolph, 81, is the only man still in Congress who served during "the First Hundred Days" of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal.)

"Young HENRY", says Randolph, came to be "always very constructive * * *. He had a way of providing constructive leadership that was essential to the passage of legislation."

Through the decades JACKSON was both student and teacher in the Senate.

Senator Ted Stevens, Alaska Republican, ruefully remembers a lesson in behavior he received from JACKSON soon after his arrival in the Senate.

"I'd just been there in the Senate 2 days," recalls Stevens. And he was participating in the Senate Interior Committee's hearings on confirmation of Republican Wally Hickel as Secretary of the Interior. JACKSON was presiding as committee chairman. Brimming with partisan enthusiasm, Stevens thought he should steadily defend Hickel from unfriendly questioners.

"I was interrupting some other Senator," remembers Stevens.

"And SCOOP stopped me and just said to me, 'I've been very patient with you * * *.'"

That's all. Just a quiet sentence fragment.

"I understood," said Stevens: JACKSON would have no breaches of committee protocol or dignity. The process would be rational, bipartisan, judicious.

When JACKSON first arrived in the Senate in the early 1950's, after his workmanlike years in the House, the man from the distant Puget Sound country encountered an institution steeped in a tradition that bore the strong flavor of the Old South.

In military affairs, in committee matters, in other operations of the Senate, Richard Russell of Georgia reigned over all. Russell was familiar with JACKSON's solid career in the House, especially his strong views on military defense. Russell accepted JACKSON, became his friend and mentor.

It helped, too, the Jackson's home State senior colleague, Warren Magnuson, had won acceptance of most of the old guard. At social functions, in the cloakroom, at other places, JACKSON moved easily with Byrd of Virginia, Ellender of Louisiana, Eastland of Mississippi, McClelland of Arkansas, Sparkman of Alabama.

Some of them were men who roused the wrath of northern liberals and invited the stings of satirists and cartoonists spoofing the elephantine old guard of the Senate. But they were politicians who nurtured the Senate's heritage and protocol and JACKSON learned from them.

"Of course we often disagreed on many, many issues," JACKSON would recall much later. There were those great debates over State's rights and civil rights and issues of organized labor. But when those debates quieted, the Senators moved on to agreement on other issues—defense, farm programs, rural electrification, other public works.

"He was strong on national defense, which gave him the bond with the southern people," remembers Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, a man with long service with JACKSON on the Senate Armed Services Committee. Thurmond would pass through an era in which he would be a favorite hate target of social liberals, a man who would be attacked even by a few Senate colleagues.

"But Senator JACKSON was always a gentleman," says Thurmond. "He was never offensive."

Those Senators with the quick, sharp tongue, delivering the fiery attack on the floor of the Senate that made good copy in the newspapers back home, could pay a price.

When a Senator became offensive, says Thurmond with a soft but ominous tone in his honey drawl, that Senator might be taught a lesson later on. "When a close question would come up," Thurmond murmurs, "I think I've seen some Senators vote the other way, just to pay off the Senator who's been offensive."

There were other lessons to be learned in the "old school" of the Senate, Sterling Munro, longtime JACKSON administrative assistant, recalls: "I think the southerners rejected anybody whose word wasn't good." With John Sparkman, with Lister Hill, with the others, "When they made the decision (on an issue) and said, 'I'm with you,' that's all there was."

JACKSON learned that and later taught that same elemental lesson of the Senate: "When I say I'm with you, I'm with you."

Early in his House career the bachelor JACKSON rented an apartment in an aging yellow apartment building near the Supreme Court. In the morning he would often walk to the House Office Building with another tenant of the same building, another bachelor Congressman, John Kennedy of Massachusetts.

In time, with his disciplined, constant work, his expanding friendships, his refusal ever to berate a colleague, JACKSON became a Senator with solid liaisons with Republicans and Democrats, northerners and southerners, liberals and conservatives.

Thus was shaped a hard-working, earnest, constant, almost bland political personality that won elections in his home State with votes from business and labor, farmers and city people, Republicans and Democrats.

"C'mon, we'll go over to the Senate dining room for lunch," JACKSON would say. And there, in a room reserved for Senators, senior staff and special guests, many a Washington State constituent would get a view of the JACKSON style of communication.

Senators—Kennedy, Mansfield, Tower, others—would stop at JACKSON's table for small talk and to be introduced to the visitor from JACKSON's home State.

"We're going to have to get something going on that bill," JACKSON would say. He was shaping action. A week hence, a bill would emerge from committee.

He held spontaneous meetings with fellow Senators he met at the swimming pool where he worked out daily, in the cloakroom, in the Senate gym or in an office building corridor. More than one Senator remembers how the JACKSON arm would be draped over one's shoulder while the talk turned to the reasonable, rational solution to a legislative problem.

An arm over the shoulder, rather than a twist of the arm.

On the Redwoods National Park legislation, on the bill to authorize the central Arizona project, on other controversial measures that seemed to be deadlocked in committee, JACKSON demonstrated endless patience, prodding, nudging, always trying to thaw the political glacier.

In a typical JACKSON solution, says Munro, "Everybody got something and nobody got what they wanted."

The elderly Randolph of West Virginia was never a great power in the Senate. But, he recalls, "I stood with SCOOP on many of his (home State) issues. We pushed through the Youth Conservation Corps bill * * *."

The 81-year-old Randolph, who now has the most Senate rollcall votes to his credit (JACKSON held the record before his death), remembers his last conversation with the late Senator:

"We were in the gym and talked. He said, 'Jennings, I'm so tired.'

"And I said, 'Yes, we're all tired. But I don't know why you're going to China.' And he said, 'Well, you never know. I want to find out.'

"He was constant in his attention to duty."



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times, Sept. 8, 1983]

FUNERAL WAS A CELEBRATION OF SCOOP'S LIFE

(By Richard W. Larsen)

EVERETT.—"SCOOP," said one of the mourner celebrators, "would have wanted to make the arrangements, but as it turned out, he would have loved it."

It, of course, was yesterday's funeral—change that to funeral celebration—for Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, held at the First Presbyterian Church on Everett's Rockefeller Street, a street along which JACKSON, as a kid, delivered newspapers.

It was a remarkable event; an impressive, mostly solemn political funeral that also contained a couple of piercing human revelations about the mortal who died last week at the age of 71.

Into the church had come the most diverse, prestigious gathering of public figures Washington State has ever seen—Vice President George Bush, Chief Justice Warren Burger, Senators, Congressmen, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Washington's Governor and ex-Governors, university presidents, admirals, generals, church leaders, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, others.

Consular officials and more.

In one of the several eulogies, the last of the Kennedy brothers, Senator Edward M. (Ted), recalled the solace JACKSON had given the Kennedy family when his brothers, SCOOP's friends John and Robert, were slain.

And Kennedy, who differed so often with JACKSON on some issues, had a tender recollection of the image of JACKSON, the man often portrayed as a military hawk, who now lay in a flag-covered casket below the place from which Kennedy spoke.

JACKSON was a caretaker of America's security, but never, said Kennedy, did JACKSON advocate financing a sound National Defense Establishment "by taking food from hungry children or hope from jobless workers."

But amid all those shining political luminaries and the eloquent tributes to the late Senator, "the show" was stolen by JACKSON's son and daughter, who provided some laughs.

And later came a sudden surge of tears—tears unintentionally caused by one of the many congressional powers who came to Everett yesterday.

Through their lives, the Jackson children have been kept mostly out of the public spotlight. But they stepped to the front of the sanctuary yesterday to share some personal memories of their dad.

Anna Marie Jackson (named for JACKSON's mother, Anna, and an older sister, Marie, now deceased), is 20, a student at Stanford University, a young woman with a radiant, confident manner. She stood above her father's casket and began, "Most people knew my father as a public personality * * *."

But, she went on, as a daughter she knew him as a man "who always made time for his family, who always knew how important a father-daughter relationship is."

When her Senator-dad was away on a trip, he usually telephoned. She remembered one of his nighttime calls from New York, after he'd had a busy day. To help her with a schoolwork assignment, he insisted on staying on the phone with her, she said, until she learned "the history of the New Deal, backwards and forwards.

"That particular call took 2½ hours."

From the "mourners" in the sanctuary came laughter: Anna Marie's remembrance, of course, was the quintessential JACKSON, the incurable politician-lecturer.

And she remembered how he flew to be with her at her debutante ball: He knew, she said, it was "a special moment in my life." When they waltzed, she said, "he kept stepping on my toes." Another laugh. More pure Jackson: No one ever accused SCOOP of being light on his feet.

Peter, 17, startled the crowd with his handsome bearing and his high voice. "Above all," said Peter, "I knew him as a compassionate father * * *."

Peter (named for the Senator's Norwegian immigrant father) recalled how, as a 5-year-old, he'd memorized all the names of all the U.S. Presidents, in order. His father, he said, "was so enormously proud." And, Peter went on, his father would stop voters on the street and force them to listen to his little son recite all the names from Washington to Nixon.

Again there was laughter in the sanctuary. The crowd could visualize SCOOP JACKSON standing there, keeping that poor voter captive on an Everett street corner, listening to the kid recite.

Then Peter remembered how he had studied and concluded that "Ralph Nader was right-on on nuclear energy * * *." That got his father's attention. They'd debate, said Peter, and dad would always win.

The crowd grinned, visualizing JACKSON, advocate of a rational, positive program of nuclear energy, debating his own kid.

In the front of the sanctuary was the white-haired presence of Gov. John Spellman. Suddenly, with the death of SCOOP JACKSON last week, Spellman had the task of naming a successor, and he knew the clock was ticking urgently on that decision.

In nearby pews sat some men who were likely appointees—former Gov. Dan Evans, sitting solemnly with his wife, and Joel Pritchard, Washington's senior Republican Congressman, sitting beside his new wife. Nearby were other possible nominees to fill the JACKSON vacancy.

It was a funeral, full of respect for JACKSON, but it was also, inescapably, a political gathering that held a question: Who would be the successor?

Standing above the casket, Peter Jackson recalled some advice his dad gave him: "Equip yourself with the facts. Be honest. And be a good listener."

The handsome 17-year-old finished. He stepped down toward the pew where his mother and sister sat. And, watching him, some in the crowd sensed that there was a possible successor to SCOOP JACKSON, even though the possibility of a Peter Jackson candidacy would be years in the future.

The eulogies went on. Former Senator Warren Magnuson stood in an aisle and, in a strong voice, paid his tribute to the man with whom he served through the decades. "God bless you, SCOOP," said Maggie.

Dozens of people who'd worked for JACKSON at one time or other had come to the funeral, and some of them got seats in the three back rows of the sanctuary. So many seats were reserved for Senators and other high officials, the other former JACKSON workers went to another room to watch it all on TV.

Beginning his eulogy, Tom Foley's body seemed to sag. He is the majority whip of the House of Representatives, a graying veteran of Congress, a man of power who could become Speaker of the House. But at this moment he was speaking as a man whose career had begun as a young, skinny JACKSON staff lawyer in the early 1960's.

"The JACKSON staff, present and past, has grown rather large," said Foley, struggling for composure. He told how JACKSON had a profound influence on all the secretaries, lawyers, interns, others who worked for him through the years—a tribute, considering that employees can be tough critics.

"For all of us who served him," continued Foley, his voice cracking, "it will remain to the end of our days * * *."

Choking, he stopped. He finished the sentence: "* * * a matter of enormous pride."

Tears flowed, especially across those faces in the three last pews and those faces in the other room, watching on TV. "There will never be another JACKSON staff," gasped Foley. Tears flowed everywhere.

But much later, when it was all over, there were some happy memories and laughs. JACKSON staffers remembered the traits of the Senator, especially his compulsion to play mother hen to them and, with parental cluckings, keep them scurrying.

When leaving his office on a trip, JACKSON seemed to enjoy sending secretaries, aides, and others fluttering in all directions, gathering documents for his "trip file," checking on flight plans, schedule times, reminding them of phone calls and endless other often-needless details.

"SCOOP loved to have everyone scurrying around and he had to organize absolutely everything," remembers Sterling Munro, longtime administrative assistant. Once, while driving JACKSON to the Munro home for dinner, Munro grinned to himself as JACKSON compulsively gave him driving directions to his own home.

Everett had never seen such scurrying as yesterday's: Planeloads of Senators and other high officials flying into Paine Field, legions of police and Secret Service * * * bus caravans * * * TV cameras, reporters * * * aid cars * * * fluttering helicopters * * * Secret Service men with earphones * * * crackling radio communications * * * motorcycles, limousines, flashing lights * * * spectators cooing and clicking photos of Ted Kennedy and other digni-

taries * * * the Chief Justice * * * flags * * * hundreds of old friends come together * * * a chorus of young voices singing of America's heritage.

So much of American Government had assembled here that the airspace over Everett was sealed off.

As that former worker said, JACKSON couldn't have organized a more marvelous scurrying.



[From the Wenatchee (Wash.) World, September 1983]

KARL STOFFEL REMEMBERS PRIVATE JACKSON

(By Bob Woods)

(The following tribute to the late Senator HENRY JACKSON comes from Karl Stoffel, a former newspaperman, now retired and living in Leavenworth).

When a friend dies, there seems always to be that question: "I wonder if he really knew how much he was appreciated?"

It is like that with the passing of Senator SCOOP, 40-year friend.

I'd like to share with you one little story about SCOOP which I think tells something more than the regular political and friendly commentary.

I met SCOOP when he was a Second District Congressman in 1942, when we were just becoming immersed in World War II. I was an assistant to the late Walt Horan, newly elected Fifth District Congressman. SCOOP was a bachelor, good looking, and very knowledgeable about the Capitol. He and his own chief assistant, Johnny Salter, although on the opposite sides of the political fence, were tremendously helpful and many times while playing penny ante poker they smoothed the way for a greenhorn.

But the point of the story is that as the war progressed and the manpower shortage became acute Capitol Hill became more and more deserted of eligible military and governmental workers. Even overage Congressmen were besieging the Army and Navy for commissions or for opportunities to serve.

Congressman SCOOP JACKSON was different. He very quietly straightened out his affairs, turned over the representative correspondence and chores to John Salter, and joined the Army, not as a commissioned officer but as a buck private.

Who knows what sort of military career SCOOP might have had? He didn't get the chance. After a short while in jungle warfare training in and around Florida, and with dozens of his Capitol Hill cohorts gone and leaving, President Roosevelt called an end to it. He recalled SCOOP and others to civilian duty. In other words, SCOOP JACKSON's GI duties were summarily ended by Presidential edict.

I was flying home to check with my own draft board (and believe me to get on a transcontinental airline at that time was something else), when I was displaced in Cincinnati by some brass-wearing VIP and told to wait for another flight.

Sitting around in the rather barren airport waiting room on wooden benches were half a dozen other lesser important travelers. Among them, dressed in Army fatigues with a duffelbag by his side was Congressman (Private) SCOOP JACKSON. He'd taken a "bump" along with others and was waiting his turn to

get on another flight. He was going home before going back to his Capitol Hill desk and civilian duties. We eventually flew together back to Washington State.

Many times afterward, I reminded SCOOP of his passing up VIP status and his only reply was the famous half smile. He was a very fine, very human sort of a man and I'm happy to have had the opportunity to know him as a friend and Senator.



[From the Wenatchee (Wash.) World, September 1983]

SENATOR JACKSON RETIRED BY DEATH

(By Bob Woods)

Those were the two big jolts in the news this week—the horrifying gunning down of an unarmed passenger jet by Russia, and the unexpected death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington.

They were completely unrelated, of course. Yet there was a certain symbolism. Senator JACKSON has long been one of the Nation's most prominent cold war warriors, preaching the perfidy of the Soviets, warning of the barbarism of their policies, maintaining that they could only be trusted to be untrustworthy.

On the day before his death, the Russians seemed to have fulfilled all his expectations.

But Senator JACKSON's epitaph will extend far beyond his perceptions of Russia.

JACKSON was a seatmate of Senator Warren Magnuson for most of his 40 years in Congress. During the time, Magnuson was known as the "politician" of the two and JACKSON as the "statesman." This was exemplified by JACKSON's run for the Presidency, not once, but twice. He was almost selected as John Kennedy's Vice Presidential running mate, but political expediency gave the choice and eventually the Presidency itself to Lyndon Johnson. There is little doubt Senator JACKSON would have made a steady competent President.

But despite his national involvement, Senator JACKSON was a careful custodian of Washington State interests. He maintained one of the finest staffs on Capitol Hill, and the members were immediately responsive to concerns of Washingtonians. He sobriquet as "the Senator for Boeing" was not a derogatory one; it was in admiration of his efforts on behalf of his State constituency. Many local projects, such as the Wenatchee Community Center, the museum, and the regional library headquarters are examples. Senator JACKSON and his staff were supportive of efforts to make the Columbia navigable to Wenatchee, and the Senator had appeared at many of the resource conferences conducted by this newspaper in Wenatchee.

Senator JACKSON was a remarkably "human" person. His great memory for names made him seem like a native in his frequent appearances at civic functions in the region. But his inherent friendliness is probably best illustrated by one of his reelection campaigns. Because of his political stature and his support from business, most of the Republicans who opposed him were nonentities. Both Senator JACKSON and one of those sacrificial lambs were campaigning in Wenatchee the same day and the Senator's opponent was having diffi-

culty making himself known. So Senator JACKSON took him by the elbow and ushered him into his own rally, introducing him personally all around the room.

Senator JACKSON's support for a strong military gained him the reputation as a hawk in diplomatic maneuvering, but he seemed to have toned down his rhetoric in recent years. Perhaps it was symbolic that his reaction to the attack on the South Korean airliner was restrained. He warned against a direct response from the United States by either military show of force or a trade embargo. The Senator seemed to be saying, "It was a barbaric act. But let's wait until we have a full explanation before going off the deep end."

For so many years this State's political fortunes have been intertwined with the careers of Democratic Senators Magnuson and JACKSON. Senator Magnuson, in his 70's, was retired by the voters at the last election. Now Senator JACKSON, at 71, is suddenly gone. Perhaps it's an indication that elected officials should observe a proper retirement age the same as those outside public office.

The political wheel of fortune has turned full cycle. After nearly four decades this State's Senate seats will be held by Republicans—at least until the next election. The name of Dan Evans will likely be most prominently mentioned as a replacement appointment for Senator JACKSON. A new chapter in the political history of the State is now beginning.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I have a resolution on this subject which I send to the desk and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the resolution will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 209

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON, late a Senator from the State of Washington.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate recesses today, it recess as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 209) was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I have been in the Senate for 17 years and I have known the Congress intimately for much longer, by reason of the service of members of my family and members from my great State. In the course of that experi-

ence, I have seen great Members of Congress from both parties whose service in this body and in the other body have been remarked on at length at the time of their passing. But I cannot recall many instances, Mr. President, when there has been such a genuine outpouring of emotion and such a clear and candid statement of grief expressed by so many at the passing of a Senator as is the case with HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington.

All Senators are equal and represent equally the sovereign State from which they are elected. But some, Mr. President, tower in their strength and commitment to the Union, in their conscientious dedication to equality, and certainly in their quest for excellence. Only a few, Mr. President, meet that standard, but HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington is near the top of that list, measured from the beginning of the Republic.

A man of majestic stature, of strength and conviction; a man who could stand on the Senate floor and express the conscience of the Congress and the country; a man who could change the course of debate and shape and form the policy of a great Nation; a man who was humble in the face of success and congratulations and who was courageous and determined in the face of criticism and dissent; a man who knew who he was and where he was going and where he wished to take the country: that was the man we have lost, Mr. President, as a colleague and a friend.

It will be a long time, Mr. President, before someone else can fulfill the role and rise to the stature that HENRY M. JACKSON created for himself. So, may I join with our distinguished colleague from the State of Washington in expressing my regret and my sadness at the passing of SCOOP JACKSON. I join, I am sure, with every one of the Members of the Senate in wishing him farewell.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this week's poem, written by Senator Cohen in memorium to Senator JACKSON be printed at this point in the Record.

HENRY JACKSON

(1912-83)

O, gentle warrior,
you who hung,
a winged sentry

above your doubting
countrymen,

And warned of violence
ticking away
in the margins
of our indifference,

How, as the days
dropped into decades
did you always come
armed with but words
and wise intelligence

Knowing that the
issue of the hour
was never lost or won,
but rejoiced, unbroken,
by the battle
the hour had brung?

Suns perish, moons fade,
bodies more sublime
than we have been
taken by Time to eternity.

But you,
uncursed as Cain,
were too vigorous to die,
no, not of a bursting heart
that never once
had bothered to complain

And yet,
a square cut stone
now will mark
for all to see
the residence that
you've taken
in the village
of cold mortality.

I write these words,
toss this voweled wreath
upon your resting place
mindful, even as
I feed upon
the bitter salt
of grief,

That once,
as a boy,
I watched in

wonderment and joy
a heavenly meteor
drop to death
in a brilliant
slash of light.

So your spirit
remains with me,
burning intense and bright,
forever in my memory,

As you fall
silent now,
blazing
into
the
vastness
of
the
night.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, during my tenure in the Senate, I have known some great Senators and I have followed the leadership of those Senators and sought out their advice and their commonsense wisdom. The late Richard B. Russell was one such Senator. Abraham Ribicoff was another, John Pastore another. There are Senators who are today serving who fit into that mold. I will not presently name them. But HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON was one such Senator. His knowledge with respect to various matters confronting our Nation and confronting the nations of the world was a knowledge that was recognized by Senators on both sides of the aisle and by national leaders outside the Senate and national leaders throughout the world. He had only recently completed a visit to the People's Republic of China. "SCOOP" JACKSON realized perhaps earlier than some of the others of us, the fact that a country whose population is 1 billion people cannot be ignored and cannot remain in the shadows of invisibility.

I often sought "SCOOP" JACKSON's advice, particularly with reference to national defense, energy, and the economy. "SCOOP" JACKSON, like Richard Russell, had a commonsense approach to these matters. His viewpoints were well thought out and were born of strong conviction. He did not hesitate to speak his conviction. Yet he was always tolerant of the viewpoints of others, and he leaves, Mr. President, a void in this Senate that will not soon be filled. He was my friend, as he

was the friend of 98 other Senators. He was extremely energetic, active, and his handiwork will always have its imprint upon some of the most important laws that have been passed by the Federal legislative branch in the past quarter of a century.

The great 19th century preacher, Phillips Brooks, once said, "A sermon is truth speaking though personality."

That statement might also describe the careers of many U.S. Senators, and Senator HENRY M. JACKSON was a good example of that ideal. Through his personality and public performance, Senator JACKSON embodies many great values and gave life to some of the most crucial issues of our times. When one thinks of strong national defense, of our commitment to Israel, or of dealing with the Soviet Union from strength, HENRY JACKSON comes to mind. When one thinks of making old age dignified and secure, of the healthy and balanced environment, or a equal justice and opportunity for all Americans, HENRY JACKSON comes to mind. And when one thinks of America's fulfilling her limitless potential of firm national purpose or steady and effective leadership, HENRY JACKSON comes to mind. In generations to come when men and historians look back upon this era, HENRY JACKSON's name will stand out as one of the great men of this age.

HENRY JACKSON, as I liked to call him but "SCOOP" as he liked to be called and as he was best known, was a remarkably decent, moral man. He was also a realist. He did not believe that if we just let things take their own course, everything would turn out right. He realized that Western civilization itself is at stake in this modern world of dictatorships and of technology in thrall to totalitarianism.

Back in 1945, Senator JACKSON accompanied the American Forces that liberated the Buchenwald concentration camp. One can only guess at the thoughts that he must have had on that occasion. But one can surmise what impact the starving survivors, the furnaces, the pile of victims, and the unbroken acres of death and agony must have had on a young Congressman who grew up in a decent Norwegian immigrant family and in the beauty and order of the State of Washington.

Whatever that impact was, Senator JACKSON had a deep sense of history and a realistic view of the future. He realized how thin the veneer of culture and civilization can be and how

fragil are rights of the innocent and defenseless in a world of savage and bullies. He saw totalitarianism for what it is, and he was never afraid to point an accusing finger at Soviet terror.

Ben Wattenberg recounts that on a 1975 visit with the Russian scientist and dissident Andrei Sakharov outside Moscow, Sakharov said of HENRY JACKSON, "He is our champion."

That is how many Americans will remember Senator JACKSON as well—as a champion of a strong America, of a decent America, of a prosperous America, and of a just America. HENRY JACKSON was a thorough patriot and an extraordinary Senator who has left his mark on our century and our generation. America and the U.S. Senate are better because of Senator JACKSON's efforts and dedication and we all mourn his passing. I will miss him greatly. And may I say that Erma and I join in our expressions and feeling of deep sorrow and compassion. We join in extending those to Helen and to Anna Marie and to Peter.

The Senate is larger than all of its parts, it is larger than its 100 Members, and the Senate in my judgment is the basic foundation of the strong character of this Republic. Senator JACKSON was one who helped to give the Senate its character. Someone has said:

Fame is a vapor, popularity an accident, riches take wings, and those who cheer today may curse tomorrow. Only one thing endures—character.

HENRY JACKSON epitomized character. And we will never forget his example.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I thank the majority leader for continuing the time for the statements concerning the passing of our good friend, Senator SCOOP JACKSON.

There are four of us on the floor of the Senate who would not be here had it not been for the service of Senator JACKSON. I had the privilege of knowing SCOOP JACKSON since 1950. In the early 1950's, when many of us were working on the concept of statehood for Alaska and for Hawaii, Senator JACKSON was chairman of the subcommittee that dealt with the whole subject of territorial affairs.

I will never forget—and I am sure Alaskans will never forget—the tireless energy he devoted to this cause, the type of energy he devoted to any cause of which he was supportive. But absolutely no one can argue with the flat statement that

without the efforts of Senator JACKSON, neither Alaska nor Hawaii would have become a State at the time they did. It may have occurred later. It occurred when it did because of the dedication of Senator JACKSON.

As a matter of fact, Senators know how difficult it is to get through the Senate, without amendment, a bill that has come from the other body. To consider the difficulty of getting Alaska's statehood bill through the Senate, as controversial as it was, without any amendment, is mindboggling. But SCOOP did it, and he did it when becoming a State meant a great deal to Alaska; and Alaska's entering into the Union has meant a great deal to the United States.

The great Prudhoe Bay oil discovery was made on land that was selected by the State of Alaska after it had become a State. The Federal Government never desired to see that land made available for exploration, and its development of the exploration was successful.

We can trace many things to SCOOP's activities concerning Alaska. Consider his foresight in dealing with the Alaskan Native land claims. He also was chairman of the committee that held all the hearings and, for the first time in history, settled land claims by an act of Congress, rather than by litigation—litigation that would have taken 175 different actions. The first and only action that went to the courts took 37 years. Senator JACKSON saw that that kind of litigation would cripple a new State.

Then we saw the passage of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline Act and the enactment of the Alaska national interests lands bill, a bill, as many people know, on which I disagreed at times with Senator JACKSON. But he always was willing to listen.

He held more than 40 hearings on one Alaska lands bill alone, and took the committee to Alaska and held hearings which commenced at 6 a.m. There were so many Alaskans to be heard that it was necessary to hold hearings for days. SCOOP sat there and listened to them all. I do not recall him ever turning down an Alaskan who wanted to express a point of view on any of the hearings he conducted.

However, I would be too provincial if I stayed there. I must recount, also, the many trips I was privileged to take with Senator JACKSON and his wife, Helen, over a period of 15 years. I think SCOOP and I must have traveled at least once a year,

often with our wives. I have had a relationship with Senator JACKSON that cannot be replaced, and I think that is true of many of us.

Those of us who believe in using the facilities of the Senate which are provided for maintaining our health know that SCOOP was there almost every afternoon and encouraged every one of us to do the same. As a matter of fact, he chastised us if he did not see us down there from time to time.

Last July, we stood here and had a little ceremony and exchanged some words as Senator JACKSON cast his 11,000th rollcall vote: 11,000 votes—votes he cast on each occasion on the basis of what he thought was right.

When I first came to the Senate, as an appointed Senator on the other side of the aisle, SCOOP sought me out, as we have just heard he sought out his colleague, Senator Gorton. From that time on, Senator JACKSON went out of his way to seek out newcomers to the Senate and to give them advice and to seek to get them to pursue what they wanted to pursue in the Senate and to take on the role they should take on.

I recall that one time he told me there was an old saying that new Senators should be seen and not heard. He said, "If you follow that advice, you won't be here very long."

It was a hallmark of Senator JACKSON's total service to the Nation that he believed that every one of us should be able to do the same thing that he did, and that is to continue to do what he was sent here for.

It was a marvel to me that, over so many years, he could maintain the enthusiasm he had for every issue he pursued, even through the last trip he took to China. It was an indication of the continuing interest in the relationship of our Nation to that nation, which is bound to maintain an important position in the world, with its billion people, as the distinguished Democratic leader has mentioned.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record editorials that have appeared in my State that acknowledge the friendship and dedication of Senator JACKSON to our new State, as well as a letter to the editor.

ALASKA LOSES A FRIEND

When Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON looked at Alaska more than three decades ago, he saw a territory that he believed would one day make major contributions to the United States.

His foresight proved highly accurate. In those early days before statehood, he became an advocate for Alaska whose constancy never wavered.

Alaska lost a true friend when Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON died Thursday after a massive heart attack at his home in Everett, Wash.

JACKSON, 71, served 12 years in the U.S. House and 31 years in the U.S. Senate, becoming a powerful force in U.S. politics.

His stature was such that he twice sought the Democratic Presidential nominations—in 1972 and 1976—though neither try was successful. His advocacy of Alaskan interests gave us an edge that we badly needed and will sorely miss.

Both before and after statehood, Senator JACKSON was Alaska's very good friend. His support of Alaskan statehood was constant even though it wasn't a popular stand.

Senator JACKSON—along with Washington's junior Senator, Warren Magnuson—helped Alaskan delegates and eventually Senator E. L. "Bob" Bartlett on many occasions. When Bartlett died in 1968, and Gov. Walter Hickel named Ted Stevens to the Senate seat, JACKSON befriended Stevens as well, and their friendship ripened over the years, despite their different party affiliations.

"Alaska will always be indebted to SCOOP JACKSON," Stevens said Friday. "He was floor manager of the Alaska statehood bill in 1958, and successfully guided it through the Senate without amendment. Without his efforts, in all probability we would not have become a State at that time."

Stevens added: "SCOOP JACKSON should be remembered by Alaskans because he freely gave of his time and talents to assist Alaska—to become a member of the Union and to succeed as a new State."

Senator JACKSON was able to see the need to balance economic development with environmental protection and settlement of the land claims of Alaska's Natives.

He became a good friend to Alaskan Natives sponsoring the Land Claims Settlement Act that passed in 1971 and maintaining an active interest in implementation of the act and resolution of continuing problems.

At the same time, he saw the need to develop Alaska's natural resources and led the drive for the Trans-Alaska Pipeline Authorization Act in 1973, that paved the way for construction of the Alyeska Pipeline Service Co., oil pipeline. He also spearheaded efforts to build a natural gas transmission system from the North Slope.

As chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he chaired more than 40 committee sessions called to draft acceptable Alaska lands legislation. After 4 years of work, a bill was passed in 1980.

He supported a strong military presence in Alaska, recognizing our State's strategic importance. Through his seat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, he fought to maintain military strength in Alaska.

With his death Thursday, the Nation has lost a powerful political leader whose perception and consistency will be hard to replace. And Alaska has lost a true friend.

[From the Anchorage (Alaska) Times, Sept. 4, 1983]

SENATOR HENRY JACKSON

The flags of the Anchorage Times were lowered to half-mast today as a gesture in behalf of all Alaskans who mourn the loss of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. The Senator, although a statesman of international stature, never wavered in his devotion to Alaskans.

While serving 45 years in Congress, Senator JACKSON held key positions on committees that helped prepare Alaska for transition to a full-fledged State. He was also a key leader in handling the final legislation that set up the terms and timetable for statehood itself.

Without the help of Senator JACKSON, the lifestyle of all Alaskans might still be one of smalltown subsistence in an isolated territory far beyond the perimeter of world economic or social concern.

Senator JACKSON was a key man in the legislative settlement of the Alaska Native land claims and in the bill providing for the national interest lands.

His leadership there was backed up by many years of association with Alaskans and their legislative needs. During the final decades of territorial status, JACKSON figured on committees that helped keep the fragile economy here afloat.

He sponsored the law that refunds to Alaska 90 percent of the rent and royalty funds that accrue to the Federal Government here. He figured in funding the Federal project to expand the Eklutna hydroelectric powerplant, which for years was the backbone of the local power structure. Many of the schools, water lines, sewer systems, and other infrastructure in Alaska were built after he helped convince Congress to authorize the Alaska cities to issue bonds.

Senator JACKSON did so many legislative chores for this State that he was often called "Alaska's Senator." Alaska's voteless delegates to Congress, who could only make speeches, looked to him for the help and leadership they needed.

Senator JACKSON was liberal in his domestic policies but pragmatic and conservative in his international views. He was an all-out supporter of Israel, a strong national defense program and anticommunism. Indeed, his last appearance before the fatal heart attack was at a press conference called to deplore the Soviet action in shooting down an unarmed commercial airliner. He noted, in terminating the conference, that he was bothered by what he thought was a cold, telling the press "I didn't know if I would survive this, but you were very kind."

In his many years of international prominence, Senator JACKSON remained approachable, with no affectation or pretentiousness. He never lost the spirit of the smalltown boy, son of immigrants, who knew poverty and the commonality of man first hand.

He was one of the Nation's symbols of the statesman who never loses touch with his constituents or his feeling for the well-being of the common man internationally.

[From the Juneau (Alaska) Empire, Sept. 2, 1983]

SENATOR JACKSON'S DEATH OF LOSS TO THE NATION

Americans—especially Alaskans—lost a champion Thursday with the tragic death of Washington Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON.

Senator JACKSON was stricken by a heart attack at his home in Everett, Wash.

Unfairly labeled "the last cold warrior" by some, Senator JACKSON worked long and hard to assure the United States maintained a strong defense, as any responsible public servant should.

For that, he is to be commended, but critics forget how he also cared about people. Social programs and the welfare of all Americans were at the top of his list of priorities during his 43 years in Congress. For example, he fought against the pollution of the environment and for many of the freedoms Americans enjoy today.

Senator JACKSON also holds a special place in the heart of Alaskans. He managed the Alaska statehood bill to passage in 1958, in the State, and Alaska leaders credit him with much of the progress the State has made during the last quarter of a century.

Without his efforts it is, in all probability, true that Alaska would not have become a State at that time, said his friend and colleague, Senator Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), the Senate majority whip.

"He was deeply involved in the Alaska Land Claims Settlement Act, Alaska pipeline amendments, and the Alaska Lands Act," Senator Stevens said. "He maintained an equilibrium in dealing with us for a period of time that it is long enough that it is hard to remember."

Senator JACKSON never shied away from a political fight. His runs for the Presidency in 1972 and 1976, showed him to be a tough politician and a tireless campaigner.

In spite of his many battles, the scars of more than four decades in national office did not show. He thrived on his job, although in a 1980 interview he admitted it was hard.

"But I know what I'm doing and I don't need sympathy. I don't have any use for crybabies," he told the reporter.

In an era of political puffery, Senator JACKSON was a breath of fresh air. He meant what he said, and he did what he thought was right, regardless of party and regardless of the political consequences.

HENRY M. JACKSON will be missed by his constituents, but not nearly as much as he will be missed by the Senate, the Nation, and Alaska.



[From the Anchorage (Alaska) Daily News, Sept. 4, 1983]

SENATOR HENRY JACKSON, FRIEND AND STATESMAN

Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON knew Alaska nearly as well as our State's own delegation in Congress, and as a friend of long standing. He also knew, as a U.S. Senator must, how to rise to the national interest and confront the issues that concern us all.

That's why he could perform the delicate feats of legislative statecraft needed to nudge the Alaska Statehood Act through Congress in 1958. That's why he could speak forcefully for the interests of Alaska Natives in drafting and implementing the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act—a measure that not only answered the claims of Native people in our State, but also cleared the path for construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline. That's why he could play an honest broker's role in the 7-year fight over the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act—able to communicate with all sides because he had earned all sides' respect.

SCOOP JACKSON was a cold war liberal—nowadays termed a “neoconservative”—who expressed the American postwar consensus for strong national defense and equally vital social services. He was a lifelong Democrat and, after 43 years of service, perhaps the last New Dealer in Congress. He split with much of his party and most other liberals over American involvement in Vietnam, and he long provided the focus in Congress for opposition to the Soviet Union and the policy of detente. He championed the causes of labor, environmentalism, civil rights, Israel, anticommunism and American minorities. He earned the respect of all sides in Congress. Senate colleagues who often disagreed with him were among the first to eulogize his service in Congress and contributions to public life.

It was ironic, perhaps, that his death Thursday evening was overshadowed by the downing of a Korean airliner by Soviet fighters near Siberia. Senator JACKSON had spent most of his career denouncing conditions in the Soviet Union and effectively battling for what he thought would keep the United States and the West ahead in the conflict between the superpowers. His staff on the Senate Armed Services Committee became a think tank for high-quality strategic analysis with a conservative, anti-Soviet bent * * *.



[From the Ketchikan (Alaska) Daily News, Sept. 8, 1983]

AN HONEST, FEELING LEADER

The Nation's leaders gathered in Everett, Wash., Wednesday, for the funeral of U.S. Senator HENRY JACKSON. The Washington Democrat died suddenly late last week at his home during a congressional recess.

In all of the national publicity about JACKSON—his leadership in the U.S. foreign policy, in his authorship of the environmental legislation, in his support for a strong defense—his friendship and support of Alaska is overshadowed. But JACKSON, as the ranking Democrat and for many years the head of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, was the floor leader in major legislation affecting Alaska. That legislation included Alaska statehood of 1958, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, and Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980. In all of these landmark laws JACKSON understood and supported the Alaska position.

Sometimes it was difficult for JACKSON to support Alaska. As a Senator from Washington State, he had to listen to his constituents in the Alaska salmon industry and other Alaska industries based in Seattle who opposed Alaska statehood. He had to arbitrate disputes between Alaskans on the Native claim

issues. He had to arbitrate between his environmentalist supporters and the majority of Alaskans in the land issue. JACKSON always worked for a realistic compromise. Attesting to his success is the lack of complaints about the statehood and Native claims acts. And the minor complaints about the lands act. We are sure, had JACKSON lived on, he would have helped improve the lands act. It was typical of JACKSON to work out compromises that helped people. Alaska lost a good friend. And the Nation lost an honest, competent, feeling leader.



SENATOR HENRY JACKSON

DEAR EDITOR: A friend will be sorely missed.

The death of Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON is a tragedy for all Alaskans, but for no one more than Alaska Natives.

SCOOP was a special ally to us and a special friend.

He was instrumental in the drafting and passage of the landmark Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and subsequent amendments. He fought to insure that the benefits we gained were not diluted by other legislation.

SCOOP JACKSON was the prototype of public service. His enthusiasm and skill in the American political process never detracted from his integrity, his compassion, and his dedication to social, political, and economic justice.

SCOOP never lost sight of his primary mission: To serve the American people. Alaskans—and Alaska Natives, especially—reaped the benefits of his limitless energy. We will always remember him with great fondness and gratitude for his friendship and efforts on our behalf.

We have lost a very special man. May his memory and the fruits of his work live on.

JANIE LEASK,

President, Alaska Federation of Natives, Inc.

Mr. President, let me in closing say that we all have been involved in tragedy, we have all had the experience of realizing that death must inevitably occur, and we have lived through the aftermath of the passing of loved ones and friends.

But I can only echo my good friend, the former senior Senator from Washington, Senator Magnuson, by saying: "I never in this world thought I would ever be here without Senator JACKSON not here."

He was one who just seemed to have a life that was timeless, and he was always so young.

It was impossible even for me to realize that SCOOP had passed 70. I remember when I went to that seventies birthday party.

SCOOP will be missed here by all of us. But SCOOP will be honored by the memorials that he has left behind him and two of them are two new States.

Mr. President, I can think of nothing that would honor a man more than to have sat in Everett, Wash., and heard the comments that were made by Anna Marie and Peter. Those of us who were there at the memorial services for SCOOP were completely awed by the statements of those two fine children, and I know that they meant a great deal to me as a father, and they had to be heard all the way to where SCOOP JACKSON is now.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point the two statements to which I referred because I can think of no greater tribute to any human being than the two statements made by his children.

FAMILY TRIBUTE: FAMILY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON—THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EVERETT, WASH.

ANNA MARIE JACKSON

Most people knew my father as a public personality—in his official role. I, however, knew him as a very special person—a father who always made time for his family and who knew how important a father-daughter relationship is.

He was the kind of father that would leave in the middle of one of his important meetings to take my phone call and talk to me and answer some questions that I was having trouble with in one of my political science classes.

I remember one night when dad called me from New York, after a tiring day of speeches, while trying to recuperate from a cold. He insisted on staying right on the phone—as he said, no matter if it would take all night—until I understood the history of the New Deal backwards and forwards. That particular phone call took 2½ hours.

He was a proud father as well. This past Christmas he flew out to my debutante ball even though the Senate was in session and there was a possibility that he might miss a vote. One thing my father never wanted to do was miss a vote.

But he told me that the debutante ball was a very special moment in my life and he wanted to be a part of it.

What I recall most vividly from that evening was waltzing with dad, and he kept stepping on my toes. He whispered in my ear and said: "Keep smiling, we make a good team."

PETER JACKSON

It's impossible to summarize how much the guidance, love, and understanding of a father means to a son. And it's going to take some time to fully realize what dad in his long, productive life means to me.

But above all, I knew him as a compassionate father, dedicated to his family.

When I was 5 years old, my dad learned that I had memorized a list of all the Presidents of the United States. He was so enormously proud of my accomplishment that he would often stop photographers and voters at random, forcing them to stand still and endure my recitation of every one of the Presidents from Washington to Nixon. When it was all over he would say: "This is my son Peter and everything he does makes me proud of him."

I'll always recall our hours together Saturday mornings at the Senate gymnasium. It was our special time for relaxing, swimming, and just talking. Whenever anyone came by, dad would stop, put his hand on my shoulder and say: "This son of mine—he's pretty special, don't you think?"

Perhaps what I'll miss most is our long discussions on political and foreign policy issues. I would go to the library and thoroughly research a topic he was deeply involved with. On returning home I would quietly sit down in our library and explain to him why I thought Ralph Nader was right on nuclear energy.

Immediately his eyes would light up. There was nothing he enjoyed more than engaging in an active, lively debate. Nevertheless, no matter how much research I did, he always came up with better arguments. He told me: "Equip yourself with the facts, be honest, and be a good listener, then you'll receive respect."

When I think of my dad I'll always best remember that advice and our spirited debates. I realize that he was not only a generous, caring father, but also an experienced and skillful teacher.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, it is difficult for me to paint a word picture of my personal feeling in the loss of HENRY M. JACKSON, but I must make an effort, however feeble it might be.

Mr. President, high noon on September 7, 1983, in Everett, Wash., was the saddest time I had spent in the 8 years I have served in the U.S. Senate.

During that time we paid our last respects to our colleague, HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON.

Mr. President, I marvel at the courage and the strength of his wife and two children.

In 1972, behind a metal building somewhere in Miami, Fla., I came to know this man and what he wanted for this country and for its future. A friendship was developed then that over time would not be dented.

He came to Kentucky when I was Governor, and he worked with me and our party. We were successful, successful because SCOOP gave of himself to help us.

We give a great deal of weight around here to the seniority system. So SCOOP was the beneficiary of his lengthy service. But his influence stemmed from considerably more than lon-

gevity. It stemmed to an even greater extent from personal and political integrity, from consistency, and from dogged courage.

Mr. President, I have lost a friend but the country and the world has lost much more.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, the leadership of the Senate has spoken eloquently today about the loss this institution has suffered by the death of the senior Senator from Washington, Senator JACKSON. In a sense, today's session has been a memorial session to Senator JACKSON. But I have come from another meeting which is also a memorial meeting for Senator JACKSON, a memorial in the most positive sense because it is evidence of the ongoing work that he accomplished.

That other meeting is, in fact, still in progress in the Department of State. It is the Bipartisan Commission on Central America, which was established by President Reagan after the proposal had been made by Senator JACKSON and myself, later joined by Representative Barnes and Representative Kemp in the other body.

I hope that the final report of the Bipartisan Commission on Central America will be worthy of the hopes that Senator JACKSON had for it. The fact that he is no longer here to participate in the work of the Commission gives me a renewed commitment to make sure that the Commission's final product should be what he wanted it to be.

In talking with him about the possibility of a commission to guide U.S. policy in Central America, I had a rare opportunity to gain an insight into the way that he thought about large public problems

In the first place, his years of experience in the Senate had made it clear to him that we were not dealing with problems in Central America which could be solved by television statements or press releases but, rather, by consistent, continuous policy which he predicted might have to extend over a period of 30 years or perhaps even 50 years.

One may have disagreed with that specific prediction, but I think it is indicative of the large way in which Senator JACKSON dealt with problems, that he was willing to look ahead for 30 or 50 years, and to try to chart a course which would bring safety, stability, and security to the Western Hemisphere.

In discussing the particular problems of Central America, he said, "You know, they call me a hawk, and maybe I am. But in this particular case," he said, "it is clear to me that military action alone will not solve the problems of Central America, that the military shield will crumble"—I remember his exact words very clearly—"the military shield will crumble if it is not supported by social and economic progress. And we must encourage social and economic progress; we must help alleviate the problems of poverty, ignorance, and disease which plague the people of Central America."

I have recounted this at some length because it seems to me that it is, in a sense, a synthesis of Senator JACKSON's career in the Senate. He stood for a strong America. He was willing to pay the price for a strong America. He felt that a strong America was essential not only for Americans but for the freedom of the world.

In domestic matters he was concerned about poverty, disease, poor housing, and lack of education.

He was concerned about them in Central America as he was concerned about them here at home. So his humanity had a breadth and a depth which is all too rare, not only in public life but in life in general.

There is no substitute for experience. Senator JACKSON had more than four decades of experience in the U.S. Senate. That, of course, did not make him infallible, but it did make him one of those wise counselors who should be listened to, who must be listened to—not only in the committees of the Senate, not only on the floor of the Senate, but in the wider councils of the Nation. So it was that President after President sought him out, sought his advice, sought his support.

The philosopher-author, Rene Dubois, once said that each human being is unpredictable, unprecedented, and unrepeatable; each human being is unique. So, when we lose one of our colleagues, we know that he can never be replaced, that we have lost something which is unrepeatable.

The Senate will feel the loss of HENRY JACKSON in days to come, but to the extent that by redoubling our own efforts, we can in some small way compensate for this diminished body, it is the tribute that we must pay to him.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is with deep sorrow that I rise today to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to my

close friend, the distinguished senior Senator from the great State of Washington, Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON.

For nearly half a century, HENRY JACKSON ably served his State and Nation. Upon being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1941, he rapidly gained a reputation as a leader who was more concerned with the well-being of the public than his own ascension in the political realm. It was this humble attitude of dedicated public service that caused him to rise to national prominence as a champion of the people.

After 11 years in the House, Washingtonians elected SCOOP to the U.S. Senate, where his unceasing efforts for the common good continued. Senator JACKSON always considered it a high honor to represent the fine people of Washington State. It was his zealous desire to help others that captured the trust, faith, and affection of his own people and of many Americans.

After 30 years of service in the U.S. Senate, Senator JACKSON's diligent pursuit to serve his fellow man ended abruptly, leaving a huge void in this body which held him in such high esteem. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing and working with SCOOP JACKSON feel a tremendous sense of loss in his passing. Yet, the emptiness we feel in our hearts is conquered by the fond memories we have of him in our minds. I was honored to be among those who attended his funeral in his hometown of Everett, Wash.

Mr. President, I count myself fortunate to have known SCOOP JACKSON as a valued and trusted friend. His firm conviction on the importance of a strong national defense was similar to my own. As an advocate of peace through strength, SCOOP JACKSON knew that the only way to maintain our freedom in a world threatened by aggressive powers was through military preparedness. As members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he and I worked closely on numerous projects involving crucial military issues, and I greatly admired his ability to exercise good judgment in every area pertaining to our Armed Forces. His commonsense approach and unswerving honesty won the respect of everyone who came in contact with him. Indeed SCOOP JACKSON never shrunk from telling it like it was.

Although he sought to serve the cause of peace and security, he was equally sensitive to the domestic needs of America.

SCOOP JACKSON was a great defender of individual liberties, and was considered to be ahead of his time in many ways. He was a progressive leader who recognized the seriousness of environmental questions long before they became a popular issue. SCOOP fought diligently to protect the public's health and safety from the dangers of pollution and made great strides in helping to preserve our natural resources.

In all things, SCOOP JACKSON looked out for others. His selflessness was merely an extension of his deep faith in God. Indeed, his life reminds us that there is a moral force in the world that is far more powerful than the wealth and might of men.

SCOOP JACKSON's life personified the American character. From the earliest days of his youth, he understood well the value of opportunity and hard work. His relentless determination and commitment to excellence in all things allowed him to achieve much throughout his lifetime. SCOOP JACKSON was a product of American ideals. In the face of any conflict or tragedy, he always hoped for the best. Perhaps his secret to success was his unwavering sense of optimism and his earnest belief that good would always triumph. If SCOOP viewed something as wrong, he felt a personal challenge to make it right.

Mr. President, Senator HENRY JACKSON was, in the truest definition, a great American. This distinguished statesman was a patriot who never wavered in his dedication to the principles of peace, liberty, and freedom. He was a man who loved God, his country, and particularly his family.

My sincerest condolences go out to his beloved wife, Helen, his two children, Anna Marie and Peter, and other family members and friends during this time of bereavement. I know that they are comforted by the knowledge that SCOOP JACKSON gave his best to serve his God, his country, and his fellow man.

Mr. President, George F. Will, the renowned columnist who was a close friend of Senator JACKSON, delivered a most fitting eulogy at a memorial service for the senior Senator from Washington. I ask unanimous consent that portions of his eulogy, and another article which appeared in the Washington Post be included in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, at the request of the Vice President, I also ask unanimous consent that a telegram from Prime Minister Kaare

Willoch of Norway regarding the passing of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON be included in the Record.

HE WAS THE FINEST PUBLIC SERVANT I HAVE EVER KNOWN

(By George F. Will)

Painted on the walls of the Senate reception room are portraits of the five men who were selected by a special committee, a quarter of a century ago, to constitute a kind of Senate hall of fame. The portraits are of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, La Follette, and Taft. There is no more space on the walls of that room, but there is a nonfunctional door. That door should be removed, and the wall filled in, and adorned with a portrait of a sixth Senator. A Senate hall of fame without HENRY MARTIN JACKSON is as unthinkable as Cooperstown without George Herman Ruth.

A silly person once said that only silly persons have heroes. But only exceptionally small persons will not pay homage to the exceptionally large persons among us. Heroes make vivid the values by which we try to live. I say, unabashedly, and with many others: HENRY JACKSON was my hero.

Because he was magnificently uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, dull persons considered him unexciting. But discerning persons by the millions recognized that his kind of character is as exciting as it is rare. Persons who, under the pressure of fashion, are as flexible as fly rods found JACKSON incomprehensible. They came to the absurd conclusion that he had departed from the liberal tradition.

He was a pioneer of environmentalism. He was the preeminent champion of civil rights. He fought for the full domestic agenda and authorized legislation that put teeth into U.S. pronouncements on behalf of Jews and others persecuted by the Soviet regime. And if JACKSON's proposals for substantial force reductions had been adopted, we might have had arms limitation agreements that actually limit arms.

The ironic truth is that JACKSON was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face toward adversaries.

JACKSON was an anchor against weariness, wishful thinking and apostasy in his party, and his country. He nurtured in this Republic something without which no republic can long endure: a sense that problems are tractable. To be in his presence was to experience the wholesome infection of a reviving spirit. This was especially remarkable because he, more than any contemporary, looked unblinkingly at, and spoke uncomfortingly about, the terrors of our time. He taught less clear-sighted, less brave persons how to combine realism and serenity.

He missed the ultimate prize of our politics, perhaps because he lacked the crackling temperament that marks persons who burn on the surface with a hard, gemlike flame. If his political metabolism seemed uncommonly calm, that is because he had the patience of a mature politician—a gift of planning, thirst for detail, and a sense of ripeness in issues. He had a flame, but he had depth in which he kept it.

In committees and on the Senate floor, he was a cannon loaded to the muzzle with knowledge born of diligence. His unrivaled effectiveness was a rebuke to the less industrious and a refutation of the theory that in politics fancy footwork is necessary and sufficient.

A legislature is a face-to-face society, where character and moral force tell. What JACKSON did in committees and on the floor was awesome. But it was only a small fraction of the work he did during four decades of 18-hour days, working with one Member after another, one Member at a time, building coalitions of commonsense.

I remember a day, nearly a decade ago, when I went panting along in the wake of JACKSON on a campaign swing from Washington to Philadelphia to Shreveport and back. When I was decanted from the little plane after midnight, I was a broken shell of my former self. HENRY JACKSON, twice my age and fresh as a tulip, bounded off into the night.

His legendary energy flowed as much from his spirit as from his physiology. His biography is an essay on the sources of American vitality. He was the son of immigrants, and of the American West. He had the stamina of parents who crossed an ocean and then a continent, and he had the optimism of his region.

For longer than I have been alive, Congress has been embellished by his presence. And for longer than I live, public life shall be enriched by the radiating force of his character. Why? Consider.

If you wonder who real leaders are, find out who has real followers. By real followers I mean persons who follow a leader onto a path of life, who adopt careers where they navigate by stars he has taught them to see. The social geology of this city is layer upon layer of persons pulled into public life by the example of lives worth emulating. Today, in numerous public offices, and in law and journalism, there is a thick layer of HENRY JACKSON's men and women.

There are those, and they are legion, who call themselves "Jackson Democrats." I can say with absolute authority that there is such a thing as a "Jackson Republican."

HENRY JACKSON mastered the delicate balance of democracy, the art of being a servant to a vast public without being servile to any part of it. He was the finest public servant I have known.



[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 8, 1983]

BUSH AND SENATORS PAY FINAL TRIBUTE TO JACKSON

EVERETT, WASH., Sept. 7.—With almost two-thirds of the Senate paying final tribute, HENRY M. JACKSON was buried today in the hometown where he delivered the local newspaper as a boy and began his political career as a prosecuting attorney.

Vice President Bush, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, and about 60 of JACKSON's Senate colleagues were among the 1,000 dignitaries who attended the service at the First Presbyterian Church.

Former Senator Warren G. Magnuson, who lost his seat in the 1980 election, welcomed the Senators to the State on "this sad occasion."

Magnuson stood across the church from JACKSON's flag-draped casket and said: "We served together in the House and the Senate almost half a century. We worked as a team shoulder to shoulder. Now that team is dissolved."

Magnuson, Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and Representative Thomas S. Foley eulogized JACKSON as a man of compassion and a man of the people.

JACKSON's children, Anna Marie, 20, and Peter, 17, also gave brief eulogies.

Anna Marie, a student at Stanford University, described how her father helped her with her political science classes.

"I remember one day when he called me from New York," she said. "He insisted on staying on the phone until I understood the history of the New Deal backwards and forwards. That phone call took 2½ hours."

Peter, a high school senior, recalled how his father was "so enormously proud" that as a 5-year-old he had memorized the names of all the Presidents. He said JACKSON frequently stopped voters and other friends and had them listen while the lad recited the names.

Foley, who worked as an aide to JACKSON before his election to Congress in 1964, said JACKSON was more than a boss.

"He was to his staff a teacher. He taught by example," Foley's voice wavered as he spoke and at one point he paused, saying: "I guess you're never too old to shed a tear for an old friend."

JACKSON, 71, died last Thursday of a heart attack at his home here. He was serving his sixth term in the Senate at the time of his death.

Gov. John Spellman, a Republican who must appoint JACKSON's successor refused to discuss the subject until after the funeral. Republican sources says he is expected to name former Gov. Dan Evans on Thursday.

An opinion issued by State Attorney General Ken Eikenberry said that an election must be held November 8, for the seat; the term runs until 1988. Eikenberry also said no primary election is necessary, setting off a scramble and presumably giving the new incumbent a significant edge if several Democrats challenge him and split the Democratic vote.



Mr. GEORGE BUSH,

President of the Senate of the United States of America, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Please accept my deepfelt condolences on the sad occasion of the passing away of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. The Senator will be remembered by Norwegians as a distinguished politician and friend of Norway. Please convey my condolences to the bereaved family.

KAARE WILLOCH,

Prime Minister of Norway.

RECESS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I see no other Senator seeking recognition.

I move, in accordance with the previous order, and pursuant to the provisions of Senate Resolution 209 and Senate Resolu-

tion 212, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased HENRY M. JACKSON, late a Senator from the State of Washington, and the deceased Lawrence P. McDonald, late a Representative from the State of Georgia, that the Senate stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 5:22 p.m. the Senate recessed until tomorrow, Tuesday, September 13, 1983, at 10 a.m.

WEDNESDAY, *September 14, 1983.*

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the death of Senator HENRY JACKSON marks a tremendous loss to the world, to this country, and, obviously, to the Senate. He was a great statesman and probably had as much impact on energy policy, defense policy, and foreign policy as many of our Presidents.

For many years in my home State of New Mexico, people had a special admiration for Senator JACKSON because he understood the strategic missions of Kirtland Air Force Base, White Sands Missile Range, and Sandia and Los Alamos Laboratories. In fact, many people in our State lovingly called him the third Senator from New Mexico.

SCOOP and my predecessor, Clinton Anderson, were close friends and hard-working colleagues who championed nuclear energy—an area of vital concern to both Washington State and New Mexico. The common concern fostered a close working relationship which overlapped into their social lives.

I have heard the story told that it was Senator Anderson who first introduced one of his staff people, Helen Hardin, to Senator JACKSON, who was a 49-year-old bachelor at that time. Senator JACKSON was impressed by the same sweetness, poise, and graciousness that had won for her the homecoming crown during her senior year. This was back in Albuquerque, my home city and the home city of my wife, Nancy. Nancy grew up there and graduated from the same high school. She was a very close friend of Helen Hardin in high school in Albuquerque.

Some of us in New Mexico judged SCOOP JACKSON by the caliber of his wife, and we concluded that on that score he was a great Senator and a great man. He was dedicated to God, to

country, and to his family. His two children are testimony that his father role was an important and caring duty. We can only hope that we could have as meaningful a relationship with our children as he had with his.

He liked people. That is why he was a Senator, and that is why he aspired to be President. When he talked to someone about a problem, that person came away feeling that he had really been understood. If you had a problem, it was his problem.

Peter Jackson, his son, explains his father's philosophy this way: "Equip yourself with the facts. Be honest and be a good listener."

Senator JACKSON had the immigrant son syndrome, as I see it. By this I mean that he really believed in America and wanted it to be the best, the strongest, and, in a very real sense, he always wanted it to be good. His efforts in the field of foreign relations were guided by this philosophy.

Throughout his life, he detested bigotry and prejudice and cruelty in every form. He was a champion of fairness, equality, and freedom. This unfaltering resolve toward these goals explains his commitment to civil rights and his attitude toward the Soviet Union.

SCOOP was an extraordinary influence on the course of events on the Energy Committee in the U.S. Senate, one area with which I am familiar. We served there together for years and worked on difficult energy, environment, and water resource questions. As chairman for a number of years, he was our boss, in a sense, but he was also our teacher. We could not help learn a lot from Senator JACKSON about getting things done through the art of negotiation and compromise.

The late President Kennedy considered four questions by which the "high court of history," as he said it, would judge public officials. The test, as I understand it, was this: Was he a man of courage, was he a man of judgment, was he a man of integrity, and was he a man of dedication? SCOOP JACKSON's courage was evident to all as he consistently and frequently spoke out, sometimes against the popular point of view. He had a consistency of perspective that is rare but precious. The tremendous wealth of respect that he earned attests to his integrity, and his unexcelled legislative skills and knowledge

through diligence are SCOOP JACKSON's trademark of dedication.

As we deliberate some very difficult issues, we need men of SCOOP's caliber. This body, the U.S. Senate, will miss him. God bless Senator JACKSON.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I came out of the front door of my residence, at the first crack of day, on my way to catch an airplane, and the gentleman who was taking me to the airport said, as I was getting into the car, "Did you hear on the radio last night that Senator HENRY JACKSON had had a massive heart attack and passed away?"

Well, I had not heard it. That statement he made stunned me into a silence, and I realized after I got to the airport, 30 miles away, that I had not spoken a word, not a word, all the way down.

I am not overcome by emotion now, but I do not have any disposition to try to make a cool analysis of Senator JACKSON's career.

I wish to say something, though, in tribute to the man, to his honor, to his character, and very high integrity and the attitude of country first, the problems of the people, giving it his utmost attention.

It has been mentioned that he aspired to the Presidency at times. I am sure that the prime motivation there was the same as it has been in other fields of public service. It was a desire to be of service.

I was with him at one of the political meetings. I spent some time with him. By chance, we were together that afternoon when the word came that an opportunity had been missed by him or did not come to him all the way that would have made him President of the United States. He had not one word of bitterness or expression of ill feeling toward anyone or anything. But I know that he looked upon it as an opportunity of service and if it was not coming to him at that time so might it be.

I like to think of the late Senator Carl Hayden. Someone pointed him out to me when I came here as being one of the very wisest, if not the wisest, man in the membership at that time. So I sought him out and got his counsel, repeatedly talked to him about various things, the state of the Union,

problems of the country, as well as the personalities in the Senate.

I remember one day he told me. He said:

I have been around here a long time. I have seen a lot of them come and go.

He was talking about new Members of the Senate. He said: Some of them grow and some of them just swell.

That was his rugged philosophy, analysis, and summary of the situation.

I have not found anything that is more descriptive nor more truthful.

HENRY JACKSON and I sat either next to each other or almost next to each other for over 30 years in the Armed Services Committee, and I saw the man grow. You could feel it. But I had a day-to-day contact with it.

In many fields he made a positive contribution. I never heard of him being an object of controversy or getting personal in matters of policy. I have heard him quoted hundreds and hundreds of times on many subjects strictly on the merits, and that is what I call growth.

Few men are endowed with the capacity to be knowledgeable and an expert in the many fields of the problems of life and, therefore, the problems of Government, as was true with Senator JACKSON.

It seemed to me that that capacity in many fields that he had, which was never abused, but rather used constructively, added up to the superior quality that we all seek in public life, especially added up to judgment, as he was a man of tremendous judgment on many, many different subjects and always thought out with a foundation of meaning and an application to the problem that he was contending with.

So I can say that he was always constructive.

If you went looking for help in a field involving a chance for something constructive, you just thought why not go to HENRY JACKSON, because he thought and acted, planned and acted in terms of trying to be constructive, trying to make a contribution.

I commend his record and his attitude to the youth of the land, and that includes new Senators who come here who have a chance to lay the foundation and carve out a career, to use him—none of us are perfect—but to use him as a model by

which to guide themselves and develop in some fields, maybe not try as many as he was excellent in—few men have that capacity—but all Members can make a special contribution in one or more fields.

So I commend him to those who come to this body and try to make a contribution.

I wish to mention here his charming wife Helen, whom I learned to know and respect very highly indeed, and those who had a chance to know her better than I did, have spoken about her. I was in a position that I could not go to the funeral, so I called her up on the telephone. The clarity of her thought, the possessiveness that she had command over the situation continued to impress me most favorably indeed, and I believe and I hope God will bless Helen and their two fine children. They deserve it on the merits and will earn it anyway many times over.

Mr. President, I could go on at length. Many fine tributes have been paid her also, and they are sincere. This is no form nor forum that the Senate is providing. These tributes are real. They are on the merits. They are deserved.

And I am proud that we have a man whose record was made in my time, my generation, for my people who are living now had a chance to know about it and appreciate it and through their representatives to express themselves on this subject.

I remember many times of crises also. He knew more about military preparedness I think, and I speak with all deference to the other Members, because we have many who have been very, very useful indeed, but I believe all the way around, everything considered, he had the best knowledge of the practical side of military preparedness of any Member who we have had here in the recent past, and he had a tremendous knowledge, and I do not see how he was so well versed in so many subjects with respect to the problem of energy.

He made a splendid contribution here with reference to an understanding of the problem and the passing of a bill that was a forerunner, a foundation, for the legislation that will come in the future in this highly important field. That bill, that Department, has been deemphasized now, but that problem has not been solved and it will come back, and we will find, whoever is here will find, that the path laid out by HENRY JACKSON in that early legislation, to which many others contrib-

uted in the House and the Senate, was a sound approach, a good foundation laid, and it will be the basis of what will be policy in the long run.

I am willing to conclude these remarks, Mr. President, now, but I am not willing to give up for one bit in my great esteem and appreciation for the fine legislative record that this gentleman made during this period, and I do not want the principles that he stood for to be abandoned but rather to be followed.

I remember when I first came here a Senator was speaking; a Senator who had been here some years said to one who had also been here a good while, "Does he know what he is talking about?" referring to the speech being made, and the reply was "Yes, he almost always does."

I took that as a fair warning, and I can say in summary here that Senator JACKSON's speeches, his position and all, were always based on facts, and he knew what he was talking about.

May his soul rest in peace and his example be followed.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I join in our tribute to our cherished colleague of the years and to our beloved former comrade. We are mourning, a continual constant mourning, in the passing of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington State. I served in the Congress for 31 years with HENRY JACKSON—I was with him 6 years in the House of Representatives and 5 years in the Senate.

He was a manly man in every sense of the word. His character, his achievements shall not be forgotten on this historic legislative Hill.

He had always that well-reasoned advocacy of worthwhile programs and I shall, as long as I continue in this body, and hopefully for years afterward, be constant in my understanding of the legacy that he has left in what could be called the art of lawmaking.

We remember, of course, his vigorous actions. I talked with him 2 days before our recent recess, and we were at eventide in the gymnasium in the Russell Building. There may have been another Member or two but we were away from others as we talked. He said not once but twice, "Jennings, I am tired, I am very tired" and I could understand that, as we have remembered always his ambitious pace, that he was tired.

I want to remember today and always his flashing smile, his ready wit. He enjoyed stories, and told them and, of course,

there was always present the clarity of his thinking, and the keenness of his productive mind.

His star of public service is indelibly inscribed on the rolls of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives in which he served.

There was a constructiveness about the career of HENRY JACKSON in the Congress, a period of more than 40 years, adding his service in both the House and the Senate. He provided a leadership, not always by the outpouring of words, but by the feeling that you had as you listened to him, consulted with him, not only in the floor work but in the cloakroom as well.

He gave you a feeling if he was opposed to legislation and its passage that there were very solid reasons for that opposition. Then he would put his hand on your shoulder often, men on both sides of the aisle felt it, and he would say, "Now, I believe this or that should be done." But even though he might have been in the negative, the loser on a vote, there was always a positiveness about him which I shall ever remember.

I know of no one during these years with whom I have served who so mastered the sensitivity of subject matter. He understood a shrinking world in which time and distance are no more. He talked about the subject of international relations in a manner that those of us who listened to him knew of his study bringing him to a position.

I think that he was perhaps the most knowledgeable man on Capitol Hill on national defense matters. I remember during his first year in the House, in 1941, we were faced on August 12 that year with a vote on whether we should continue the Selective Service draft. In those days we did not do as now, punch a button, but the rollcall was heard as Members answered.

That is a night that I shall always recall. The vote was 203 to 202 as to whether the Selective Service draft should be extended—203 to 202.

I turn aside to say that I have thought often that perhaps the 203 to 202 vote may have encouraged the warlords of Japan to strike us a few weeks later on December 7 of that year. They may have felt that America was divided and that there could be no unity within the citizenry of our country in answering an attack upon us from Japan on the sea and in the air.

I mention this only as one of the times when, in that body, SCOOP and others were called on for decisionmaking. That is why, in large part, I say, as I have said at the outset, that I think he was knowledgeable, deep down within himself, on what are characterized as national defense matters.

I think many of us through the years were really amazed at his grasp of such a diversity of interests and his devoted and his diligent service to not only his State but to the Nation. In doing what he did, although the clouds hang above this Hill and across America and other parts of the world, he wanted to build a better place for boys and girls and men and women on this Earth.

One example of Senator JACKSON's leadership in worthwhile legislation was the establishment of the Youth Conservation Corps. His authorship of that legislation and the Young Adult Conservation Corps gave young people new hope and involvement. I was privileged to join with him in the introduction of that legislation. It was an initial pilot program and it came to pass in 1970. It was very much a new, adaptation of an old idea. During the Depression years of the 1930's, we created within the Congress, during the Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt, the Civilian Conservation Corps, which did an exceedingly constructive program of conservation. The work of course touched materially the parks and forests of this land, and it touched the lives of these young men.

This past weekend in the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia, I was gathered with 372 former CCC enrollees who had come into our hill country, having served in one of the 41 camps, in my State during the period of 9 years.

Today thousands of young men and women are again, mustering their abilities and dedication to accomplish, good things in a great new works program to help preserve the strength of America. These individuals are there because a congressional leader like HENRY JACKSON saw the need to capture the prevailing spirit of our young people and their understandable concerns for productive achievement.

I recall June 25, 1971. I was privileged to join on the journey with HENRY into West Virginia where the first national youth camp was established. It was at Camp Wood that our program in the Monongahela National Forest was held and the

dedication of the first of those youth camps, the brainchild of HENRY JACKSON, was held.

I feel it is proper that I give you a few of the inspiring words that he spoke to those young people on that occasion. I know that he had not only the thoughts of the preservation of the Earth, the forests, and the fields, but he was thinking of the strengthening of the fabric of the youth of our country.

It was a responsive group of young people who listened on that occasion.

I repeat JACKSON's words:

The Youth Corps program is premised on the fundamental concept that man and nature cannot be treated separately. Human resources and natural resources go together. Nature lacks meaning without man. And man's life, to be meaningful, requires contact and exposure to nature. The Youth Corps has provided an opportunity for the leaders of tomorrow to learn more about the environment; to be involved in its protection and preservation."

Those were the wise words of HENRY that I repeated in West Virginia this past weekend.

Shortly after Senators and others of the Congress, his friends, returned to the Nation's Capitol from Senator JACKSON's memorial service, I reflected on the event. I shall never forget the two children, Anna Marie and Peter, as they spoke movingly of their father.

I know that Helen will understand these words by poet John Gray:

"Love, like the ocean, is vast and forever,
"And sorrow, but a shadow that moves across the sea."

As we think today of his career, we think too of the responsibilities of those who remain. I talk with many young people. It is surprising how they felt that they really knew HENRY JACKSON. They understood his leadership and they sorrow at his going away. One of them said to me only yesterday, "You know, someone might think I am a little young to say this, but I feel I have lost a friend."

He was a champion; he was our beloved colleague.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, like many others, I join with my colleagues to express my sorrow on the passing of Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON. There can be no regret for a life as fully lived as his. I only fear the void left by his passing.

My wife Nancy and I were privileged to attend the funeral services for Senator JACKSON in Everett, Wash. At the service, many people spoke of his tremendous contributions to the defense and well-being of our Nation and of the world. The tributes paid to him by his colleagues and friends were very moving. But the part of that service that most deeply affected me were the reminiscences of his son Peter and his daughter Anna Marie. Their words truly reflected the greatest gift a father can have, the love and respect of his children.

Senator JACKSON was not only a great Senator. As others in this Chamber have already said, and as many more who had the privilege of serving with him will say, HENRY JACKSON was also a good and considerate man, a man who had no illusions either about the extent of his power, or about its limits. This sense of proportion was displayed on a trip we both took to Europe as part of a congressional delegation to NATO. It was my wife who noted that, even though Senator JACKSON was the senior member of the delegation and one of the most powerful Members of the Senate, he and his wife Helen never made anyone, whether it was another Senator or aide, wait for him.

That trip also held special meaning for me as a junior Senator. It gave me the opportunity to work closely with a master of over 40 years experience in the national and international arenas. I am honored both to have served with him and to have been able to learn from him.

Senator JACKSON was, to quote Time, "The hawk's hawk, the liberal's liberal." He was much more than that. In the 3 years that it has been my privilege to serve in the Senate, time and again it was Senator JACKSON's voice that made the difference in debate. He was a consummate compromiser because he was a reasonable man and knew that reasonable views come in many forms. At the same time, his principles were deep and unshakable. Like his ability to compromise, they were based on reason.

Senator JACKSON will be missed not just by his family and his colleagues on both sides of the aisle, but by the Nation. On behalf of my State of Alaska, I would like to pay special homage to the man Alaskans liked to call the third Senator from Alaska.

SCOOP was the guardian angel of Alaska's developing economy during its final years as a territory, and was instrumental in

passage of the legislation that gave Alaska statehood. He was a key figure in the compromises that led to approval of both the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act.

He sponsored the statute that refunds 90 percent of the Federal rent and royalty revenues from Alaska's public lands to the State. He worked to insure funding for the Eklutna Hydroelectric Powerplant, for years the cornerstone of Alaska's energy infrastructure. He helped convince Congress to permit Alaskan cities to issue bonds, making possible construction of many of our schools, public buildings, and utilities.

He led the drive for the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System Act in 1973 and spearheaded efforts to authorize the Alaska Natural Gas Transmission System.

It was during these years that he acquired his second nickname as the third Senator from Alaska. It stuck, and deserved to. Alaskans are indebted to HENRY JACKSON. The Senate, the State, and the Nation mourn a hero.

HENRY JACKSON loved Alaska. He always said that it reminded him of the magnificent Norwegian scenery of his heritage. And in turn Alaskans loved him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record at this point one of the many tributes that appeared in Alaskan newspapers on the death of this great statesman.

[From the Anchorage (Alaska) Times, Sept. 2, 1983]

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON—ALASKA'S THIRD SENATOR

(By Betty Mills)

WASHINGTON.—The late Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, (D-Wash.), was often called Alaska's third Senator. He guided to passage the resolution granting statehood in 1958, and played a key role in every major Alaska issue that came before the Senate.

JACKSON was the best Senate friend of Senator Ted Stevens (R-Alaska); in many ways, JACKSON was the mentor of Alaska's senior Senator despite their different political parties and outlooks.

They often spent time in the Capitol steamroom, discussing the events of the day and swapping stories. It was JACKSON who organized the effort to obtain an Air Force plane to fly a congressional delegation to Anchorage following the death of Ann Stevens, the Senator's first wife, in a plane crash, in December 1978.

Stevens was shocked to learn Thursday night of JACKSON's sudden death from a massive heart attack. He is expected to attend the funeral, an aide said.

"I am deeply saddened by the untimely death of SCOOP JACKSON," Stevens said in a statement.

"Alaska will always be indebted to SCOOP JACKSON. He was floor manager of the Alaska statehood bill in 1958 and successfully guided it through the Senate without amendment. Without his efforts, in all probability we would not have become a State at that time.

"SCOOP JACKSON should be remembered by Alaskans because he freely gave of his time and talents to assist Alaska to become a member of the Union and to succeed as a new State."

Former Alaska Gov. Bill Egan, who worked closely on the Democratic side of the battle for statehood, said JACKSON was a "real statesman" and a "wonderful supporter of the statehood fight."

Egan agreed that in many ways JACKSON was Alaska's third Senator, even in some cases where he and the Alaska delegation did not see eye to eye.

"Sometimes, like in the Alaska lands bill fight, we weren't always in tune," he said today. "But I think even then he was just looking to find some kind of workable, reasonable compromise."

During the 4-year fight over Alaska lands legislation, JACKSON chaired more than 40 separate sessions of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee in an attempt to draft an acceptable bill.

Many of the meetings lasted far into the night, with only Stevens and Senator Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.), joining JACKSON in the Senate committee room.

JACKSON broke with his colleague on the first attempt to amend the landmark 1980 law—saying he could not support Stevens in his efforts to reopen 12 million acres of national parks to sport hunting.

But due to his friendship with Stevens, JACKSON did not take an active role in opposing the amendments. He simply read a statement of opposition at the energy committee hearing last April, and then left the room.

JACKSON was known as a true friend of Alaska Natives, sponsoring the monumental Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971 that granted nearly \$1 billion and 40 million acres of land. Since that law was enacted, he met frequently with Natives to monitor its progress and to sponsor amendments correcting problems that surfaced.

Energy and national resource issues were his hallmark, and he frequently touted the untapped potential of Alaska. He led the drive for the Trans-Alaska Pipeline Authorization Act in 1973 and spearheaded efforts to build a natural gas transmission system from the North Slope.

Mr. President, I would also like to express my sympathy to his wife Helen, and his children Anna Marie and Peter, who are in the gallery today.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON, who died suddenly and tragically last week. Nearly every day this summer, before the Senate went into recess, I was with SCOOP.

As we debated the issues of national defense on the Armed Services Committee, he was at the height of his purposes and power. None of us—his colleagues, his friends—even imagined

on those recent summer days that he was in the twilight of his leadership and his life. Now that this darkness has come, we look through it to his legacy and the light he has left.

In our era of slick images and slack ideas, SCOOP JACKSON was a real man, whomever remade himself to political convenience, who knew as much about the substance of policy as any Senator in modern history. He could discuss with equal ease the elements of global strategy and the components of a single weapons system.

His friend, John Kennedy, once urged Americans to be defenders of freedom in its hour of maximum danger. SCOOP JACKSON was, perhaps more than any other person over a longer time, a defender of freedom across a generation of maximum danger.

He reminded us always as his life recalls to us now, that our defense will depend not only on a strong military, but on a just society. He was an advocate of modern weaponry and greater security. But he never believed that we could or should pay for a missile or a bomber by taking food from a hungry child or hope from a jobless worker. On vote after vote, he was there for his beliefs—in both defense and domestic policy—despite the trends of the moment or the tides of an election. SCOOP did not wish it this way, he would have preferred to be President, but he would not, he could not, be false to his own vision of what was right.

There were those who said SCOOP lacked charisma; but he had a special charisma of character. During the fearful reign of intimidation which Joseph McCarthy was fanning the flames of a false Red scare, SCOOP JACKSON had the courage to walk off that committee and to stand up for fundamental civil liberties. He was only a young, first-term Senator; but it was the kind of Senator he would always be.

There were others who said SCOOP could be stubborn; but I would say that he was steadfast in the great causes which were his abiding concern.

There was no greater friend of the labor movement than SCOOP JACKSON, who never felt the need to redefine his views as a neoliberal or neoconservative—or to plead that he, too, knew what was wrong with the unions.

There was no greater friend of Israel than SCOOP JACKSON, who helped the Jewish people, as much as any American ever

has, to hold their promised land. Some individuals have planted a tree in Israel; SCOOP helped to plant that entire Nation.

There was no greater friend of the dissident and the dispossessed victims of Soviet tyranny than SCOOP JACKSON, who heard and heeded the cry of Yelena Bonner that her husband, Andrei Sakharov—and so many other nameless human beings—must finally depend on us to defend their human rights.

Some famous words of Shakespeare apply so clearly to SCOOP JACKSON:

“This above all, to thine own self be true, and thou canst not then be false to any man.”

The same spirit that made SCOOP true to himself made him so consistently true to his friends.

His ties of affection reached across the political spectrum.

I first came to know SCOOP in the early days of my brother's Presidential campaign, when I was traveling across the Western States. From that moment on, for nearly half my life, SCOOP JACKSON was with me, with my family, in the best and the darkest times.

On that day Jack died, he was a friend who comforted me. On more days than I can count, I felt his happy clasp on my shoulder; I saw his crinkled smile; I enjoyed his counsel and his company.

Others will recall him, and history will record him, for his significance and his span of national service—through the terms of nine Presidents, from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan. For his service encompassed more than a fifth of the entire existence of this Republic.

We all know that, and honor him for it. But in this dark time for his family, when suddenly we must say our farewell, I recall and salute SCOOP most of all as among the best of friends.

Mr. MATTINGLY. Mr. President, I am thankful to have served in the U.S. Senate with SCOOP JACKSON. Pausing here to honor him, we are the poorer for having to go on without him, but the richer for having known and served with him. In his more than 40 years in Congress, he set an example for us all.

We will have to negotiate the perilous future without his advice and counsel on the Armed Services Committee, where he recognized the absolute necessity for this country to main-

tain a strong national defense. Straightforward, plain spoken, honorable, he was beloved in his home State, esteemed in his country, and respected throughout the free world.

He served so long and dependably, gave of himself so unstintingly, that we reacted, in grief and frustration, to our loss of him: "Not now when we need him most!" But, then, he combined the very qualities that are always scarce and sorely needed.

When, at his final news conference, he was asked about taking our protest against the Soviet Union to the United Nations, he appropriately suggested a higher authority. We can be thankful that he lived his life in touch with that higher authority, by whom it will surely be said of SCOOP JACKSON, "Well-done, good and faithful servant."

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, SCOOP JACKSON was a person of enormous energies, a dedicated patriot, and a person of enlightened wisdom.

He has been called courageous and inspiring by others, and justifiably so. He has been praised for his legislative leadership and craftsmanship, as the author of many landmark statutes. He has been described as a man of integrity, of courage, of wisdom. He was indeed all this, and yet much more.

Above all, SCOOP JACKSON was a good and decent person, a good and loving husband, a good and generous father. Although his public career was amply documented and publicized, he kept his private family life as sheltered as possible.

I was honored to share some moments in the private life of SCOOP JACKSON. It was always a heartwarming experience for me to observe the warm relationship between father SCOOP JACKSON and his children—daughter Anna Marie and son Peter. It was always touching to observe the loving, tender relationship between him and his wife, Helen.

I know that our loss is a great one, and the mere expression of my personal sorrow over the loss of our colleague will not help to alleviate the pain and sorrow which must weigh so heavily in the hearts of Helen Jackson and her children. But I hope that it consoles them to know that there are many others, here and elsewhere, in this country and abroad, who share with them this tremendous loss.

Mr. President, I will miss SCOOP JACKSON.

Mr. President, I will always remember him.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, when SCOOP JACKSON died so suddenly and so prematurely on the first day of this month, the Senate lost a man who was, almost completely, what a Senator should be. George Will has urged that a portrait of HENRY MARTIN JACKSON appear with those of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, LaFollette, and Taft in the Senate Hall of Fame in the Senate reception room just off this floor. I agree and so propose.

SCOOP JACKSON's record of accomplishment in any one of the fields in which he chose to be active would be sufficient to make the career of a Senator. He led the Senate in energy, environmental preservation, natural resource management, human rights, defense, and geopolitics. He led in all these areas without showing the slightest inclination to limit the range of targets for his relentless energy. It just was not necessary.

SCOOP JACKSON inspired legions of men and women to come to the Nation's Capital to work for him. Actually, they ended up working with him, because his style of leadership was inextricably bound up with a compulsion to teach by example. The Jackson operation is a machine for doing the things suggested by his conception of a humane and intelligently managed world. An awesome lot got done. If you think that past and present members of the Jackson staff do not count themselves among the luckiest of warriors for the public good, just ask any one of them. They had the privilege to partake of SCOOP JACKSON's own incredible luck to be born to lead and, in addition, to obtain the opportunity to practice leadership.

His life is so exquisitely an American success story that if a fictional character were proposed whose life was SCOOP's, no literary critic would stand for it. He was a man of modest beginnings who believed in hard work, faith, constancy, personal dignity, loyalty, and optimism. He knew defeat and accepted it without bitterness. He also knew victory and accepted that modestly and without a trace of arrogance.

He rose very high in a profession he loved, became famous, and lived to examine and enjoy his successes. He knew the great leaders of his age, but he was always at home with the people who lived in Everett, Wash., where he was born. He was loved and had a chance to exercise his own large capacity to love.

He died in his own home suddenly and without pain at the height of his powers. Only when he was no longer there did people realize just how incredibly good he had actually been.

SCOOP JACKSON became chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in the 88th Congress. He was chairman of that committee and its successor, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, for 18 years. His legislative accomplishments in the jurisdiction of these committees definitively established our national policies for such matters for the 1960's, the 1970's, and the 1980's. There is no reason to believe that certain of these policies, for example, the requirement of adequate prior assessment of the environmental impact of major Federal actions, will be significantly altered in our own lifetimes, if ever.

Mr. President, the legislative record of SCOOP JACKSON will cast a shadow throughout the decades of this history of this Republic, perhaps as long as we have a Republic. He was the essential mover in Alaska and Hawaii statehood, in the establishment of the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the National Wilderness System, the Nationwide System of Trails—including the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail, the System of Wild and Scenic Rivers, the North Cascades National Park and the Redwood National Park, and in the enactment of the National Environmental Policy Act, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, the Youth Conservation Corps, the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act, and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, and a host of other legislation.

In 1971, at SCOOP's instigation, the Senate authorized the creation of the National Fuels and Energy Policy Study, anticipating the energy crisis that was about to explode into the consciousness of the Nation. A list of the elements of the Jackson energy policy that emerged from the activities conducted under the study is a recitation of the policies with which we have dealt with energy dependence. Legislation he caused to be enacted cleared the way for the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, established the strategic petroleum reserve, mandated an activist role for the Federal Government in support of research and development into alternative energy sources, and created programs in energy conservation and synthetic fuels development.

Of course, these accomplishments reflect only SCOOP's energy and natural resource interests. Others will emphasize the many contributions for which he is known in, for example, national security. It is a massive record of legislative achievement. Yet this man could respond to a question from a college student that the work of which he was most proud was his role as chairman of the Democratic Party during the election campaign of John F. Kennedy when, as JACKSON told the student,

We put an end to religious bigotry as a major factor in American politics.

SCOOP JACKSON was a special friend to me, designating me, in a certain sense, as his apprentice chairman for the last years of his chairmanship of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. No apprentice ever had a better example to follow. He gave me room to make my own decisions and my own mistakes. He never withdrew his trust.

However, it was SCOOP who was presiding on the last committee markup day in the 96th Congress, after the results of the 1980 election were known, and the control of the Senate was about to pass to the Republicans. As was his custom, he conjured up a quorum through a series of personal telephone calls to Members. He then proceeded methodically to call up, adjudicate, and cause to be reported each bill in its turn, until the calendar was clear. When the last bill had been ordered reported, those present, in awe of the performance and suspecting they were seeing it done for the last time, spontaneously broke into applause.

What he did for the institution of staff, I might say, is also to be emulated by us all. When I got to be ranking minority member, of course, I kept all of SCOOP's staff; not as a favor to SCOOP, not out of sentimentality—although those would have been reasons to do it sufficient to themselves—but by the quality of staff that SCOOP assembled. That is true not only on this committee, but on his personal staff. He attracted competence.

He attracted people who wanted to work with him, not for him; he was that kind of person himself. It was as if you were a member of the SCOOP JACKSON team. It was again because of that infectious enthusiasm, that quality, that if you were around him he created that kind of feeling. As Mike Harvey expressed, he used to say, "Good work, troops!" It was a team effort. Indeed, some of us felt first and foremost as though we

were a member of SCOOP's team before we were members of the committee. And I guess in a real sense we on the energy committee will always be members of SCOOP's team.

As a SCOOP watcher for over 10 years, I came to know and appreciate his particular way of getting things done. He simply talked to everyone involved in a particular issue, learned their problems, and found a way to put together a coalition of people interested in resolving the issue. His style of leadership was not flashy. In fact, I can vouch for the mind-numbing number of hours it took SCOOP and others to work out some of the more contentious and intricate pieces of energy legislation included in the 1978 package known as the National Energy Act. But he took the time when it was needed. He was a patient man in an impatient institution. To certain undiscerning people, it seemed that SCOOP lacked charisma. I join with those who knew him in praising his charisma of competence.

This is not a time when a person engaged in public service can expect to be greatly respected. Any rational examination of the life of HENRY MARTIN JACKSON cannot but refute this popular prejudice that causes so much ill feeling. For SCOOP JACKSON, through personal example, made public service look good. He made us look good, too, by virtue of our association with him and the things he did. It seems to me that it is up to all of us now, ourselves, to renew our commitment to the example he set, and in so doing, attempt to regain some measure of respect for the work of representative democracy.

We will not see the gap left by his death filled by any one man in this Congress, the next, nor the one after that. An important task is the completion of the work his death kept him from finishing. A far more important task, indeed the essential task, is the preservation of the spirit in which he addressed that work. I can think of no finer legacy for this decent, competent, cheerful, and deeply moral man.

Mr. President, as prodigious as his legislative record is, I would also like to speak today as a friend who labored for some 11 years side by side with SCOOP JACKSON in the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. I was his friend; I was his protege. He was my teacher.

He had a special capability and characteristic of being able to attract friends to him to create personal relationships with

them and to have them feel intensely about him. I was one of those who felt that way about SCOOP, as do staff of myriad numbers, spread all across this country, and friends in this body and without.

Every Senator has his constituency, his friends and his acquaintances and his supporters. But few people in the history of this Republic have had the number of personal friends, the number of personally loyal true believers, as did SCOOP JACKSON.

Mr. President, much has been said here since the untimely death of SCOOP JACKSON about his accomplishments, and I underline all of those things. But I simply want to allude to two personal characteristics which I shall sum up among many others in the words, "manly" and "boyish".

SCOOP was manly in an intensely masculine way, with a deep timbre in his voice, a strong face, all the manly characteristics of courage, duty, patriotism, strength, integrity, character—manly in the old-fashioned way, not in the sexist way. He attracted the company of men and, indeed, of women with that manly, strong character of his.

But he was also boyish in the freshness of his personality, in the enthusiasm which he had for life and for this job, in his zest for life, in his intellectual curiosity.

I do not think I have ever known anybody of any age who had as much intellectual curiosity as SCOOP JACKSON, always discovering some new area, always reading on some new issue, always interested, always talking to people, always alive with what he was doing.

He never seemed to be tired, never jaded, never bored. In a place where the capability of being bored is very great indeed, he was never bored.

He was never cynical, never hypocritical; he was ever ready for the challenge of life, for the challenge of a U.S. Senator. If somehow we could take the essence of that characteristic which is, among many others, one of the strongest characteristics of SCOOP JACKSON, his enthusiasm, and bottle that quality or transmit it to others, it would be the greatest thing that could be done for the human race, because SCOOP had that quality to a greater degree than almost anyone I have ever known. To say that SCOOP JACKSON will be missed is, indeed, an understatement. The greatest thing I can say about his

passing is that he did pass at the height of his powers, at the height of his popularity, at the height of his productiveness. He was taken from us in a painless and quick way. He will be remembered; he will be missed; he will be loved. The imprint of his personality is very deep and very strong and very permanent in this body and in the country.

Mr. CHILES. Mr. President, on September 2, 1983, America lost one of the finest public servants of this century and the Senate lost a man who embodied the highest traditions of this institution.

As the history of this era is written, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON will be recorded as a statesman and legislator who met the test of difficult and challenging times. Many fine men and women have served in the Senate and made lasting contributions. A few emerge as true leaders who place their imprint on the course of the Nation's history. SCOOP JACKSON is certainly going to be one of these few.

Truly, the Senate is diminished by his death. As colleagues and friends we are bereft and have a hard time reconciling ourselves to his absence. And yet as we mourn his passing, we must also celebrate that such a man lived and that his life's work was service to our country.

As we attempt this morning to take the measure of this man, to comprehend the source of his greatness, I find in Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay, "Character," an understanding of what made SCOOP JACKSON different. For Emerson, character is nature in the highest form. Emerson felt it was a rare commodity in the political realm but in defining the element of character in an elected representative he could well have been describing Senator JACKSON, a rare politician:

The people know that they need in their representative much more than talent, namely, the power to make his talent trusted. * * * The men who carry their points do not need to inquire of their constituents what they should say, but are themselves the country they represent; nowhere are its emotions or opinions so instant and true as in them; nowhere so pure from a selfish infusion.

SCOOP JACKSON, Mr. President, was, indeed, that man of character. His wise and generous nature represented the best of America. He could lead with sureness and strength because he understood this Nation and had no other goal than a just and strong America.

SCOOP was a Senate man; the consummate legislator of his generation in the Senate. His skills and energies were directed toward finding solutions; fashioning proposals that would become law. His record of achievement will occupy historians and biographers for years to come. The scope of his accomplishments is perhaps unparalleled.

SCOOP JACKSON's career in the U.S. Congress was dynamic. He served in the House of Representatives for 12 years and in the Senate for 30, a total of 42 years of public service to this Nation. Neither his native State of Washington nor the whole United States could have found a better Senator than HENRY JACKSON. He was a tireless legislator, a man you could depend on to listen even if he did not agree with you. He will always be remembered by me as a fair and straightforward man who dealt honestly with his colleagues. He certainly was respected by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle because he respected us. It is the combination of these unique qualities that allowed SCOOP JACKSON to get things done.

Above all, he was firm in his convictions and stood tall on matters he felt were important. He had that rare ability to analyze each issue and not just in terms of how it affected the State of Washington, but how it affected the United States and the world community.

His attention to domestic issues facing this Nation was exceptional. He was aggressive in protecting the environment long before it became a popular issue. He authored the Environmental Protection Act of 1969 which set up the Environmental Protection Agency and required for the first time that an environmental impact statement be filed before a Federal project could begin. As chairman of the Senate Interior Committee and later of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he worked hard to protect many of this Nation's most pristine areas. Without his help, we could not have been able to establish the Big Cypress National Preserve in Florida. Also, the Northern Cascades and Redwood National Parks owe their existence to him. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, the Wilderness Act of 1969, and the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act can all be listed among his legislative achievements.

In addition to this work, SCOOP constantly opposed strip mining and mineral leasing in wilderness areas. Clearly, he was

a friend to the environment but he did not turn a deaf ear to economic growth. His decisions showed time and time again that he believed economic development can and must be compatible with environmental protection.

Senator JACKSON was the Senate leader in energy development. As a 30-year member of the former Joint Atomic Energy Committee, he understood the need to develop new sources of fuel as a way to protect our national security. To SCOOP, an energy-independent America was a strong America. Not surprisingly, he was a proponent of nuclear power, oil exploration, and synfuels. As chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he showed his interest in energy development by helping establish the Alaska pipeline and by promoting safe and environmentally sound offshore drilling.

SCOOP JACKSON understood the world and the role of the United States in that world. He knew that the United States must be the leader of the free world and must be strong militarily in order to lead. His distrust of the Soviet Union specifically, and communism in general, consistently shaped his foreign policy views. His anticommunism was based upon a thorough knowledge of history. He demonstrated his levelheaded approach toward the threat of communism when he became an outspoken antagonist of Senator Joe McCarthy and redbaiting during the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954. That was difficult for him to do, Mr. President, because he was a junior Member of the Senate at a time when many senior Senators, who knew that what was going on was wrong, were afraid to speak out. No one wanted to be tarred with that brush, but SCOOP JACKSON was not afraid. That was a mark of his character all through his career. If it was wrong, he would stand up to it. He would not be afraid.

As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he was respected as an expert in matters of defense. He continually pushed for a strong defense because he understood that freedom, as all things we hold precious, must be protected if it is to remain intact. He was a man who understood global politics. Not only did he have an understanding of the players in the international relations game, but he had compassion for those helplessly caught in the middle.

I can remember vividly SCOOP's successful push for the Jackson-Vanik amendment in 1974 to deny most-favored-nation

treatment to the U.S.S.R. and other nations denying free emigration of Jews to Israel. He was a friend to the Jewish community and a human rights advocate.

Most recently, Senator JACKSON did not hesitate to speak out against the downing of the Korean airliner by Soviet jet fighters. He was speaking of that during his last press conference. He called it an act of barbarism and called not for a military response but for a moral one. Asked if he wanted to bring this matter before the United Nations, he responded, "I would rather call a prayer meeting."

While the long list of public laws initiated by Senator JACKSON will surely rank him as one of the towering figures in the history of the Senate, it will not tell the whole story. The written record will not show why SCOOP JACKSON holds such a special place in the hearts of his colleagues. It cannot show the wise counsel, the guiding hand, the generous spirit of compromise and cooperation that so characterized SCOOP. And it will not show that there is a great body of legislation enacted over the 20 or so years that does not have JACKSON's name on it but is law because of him.

I think all of us can remember the many times we reached an impasse here and it appeared that there was no way out, and SCOOP would move around, with his soft voice, get somebody by the arm, and whisper to somebody, "It looks like there's some middle ground here," and that great impasse suddenly disappeared. Everyone was able to walk away happy and winning. SCOOP always realized that there had to be winners, not winners and losers. Time after time, I saw him work that particular magic on the floor.

From my own experience, I can think of numerous instances when SCOOP's help made the difference in bringing to fruition something on which I was working. SCOOP was the father of Public Law 91-129, the law which established the Commission on Government Procurement in 1969. That Commission was established to come up with ways to deal with the cost overruns for major weapon systems and to bring about reform in the way Government buys goods and services. SCOOP was an original appointment to the Commission.

In 1971, shortly after I arrived in the Senate, SCOOP decided that he had so many things going that he would leave the Commission and let me, a freshman Member, take his place.

When I talked to him about it, he said, "It's a good way for you to learn about how the Government goes about buying things. You'll get a real education."

I started going to those meetings and wondered what in the world I was doing there. It was very technical. But as a freshman Member, I had a lot of time on my hands, and I did receive a good education serving on that Commission.

I later chaired an ad hoc subcommittee to try to take the Commission's recommendations and enact them into law. That later became a permanent subcommittee, my first chairmanship on Government affairs. We were trying to start an office of Federal procurement policy, to put it in the White House. That was the No. 1 recommendation of the Commission.

When I was trying to get that started, the Defense Department did not want to be bothered by it. The other agencies were use to the way they were doing business, and they did not want to be bothered. At the time, even the White House did not think it was too important. They did not want any more members on the White House staff. They thought they might be criticized that the budget was becoming too big. The fact that nobody was overseeing Government purchasing did not seem to interest many people.

I talked to SCOOP about how I could get the legislation moving. He knew it was important—he started the Commission—and I remember his wise advice in telling me how to move on it. It became law.

The same thing happened some years later, in trying to do something to control paperwork. We reached a point again where it was touching the Defense Establishment, because there was a provision about how to buy computers. The Defense Department decided they did not want any part of that and started raising all kinds of problems. Finally, when I discussed it with SCOOP, he said, "That is something they should have. There is nothing wrong with that."

When I got his voice talking for it, things changed entirely. The people who were raising all kinds of specters went back into their holes.

I think each of us can recount some instance such as that, where we would go to SCOOP and tell him it was important.

I am going to miss his counsel. I learned a lot from him, and those are things I will never forget.

I learned from him the value he placed on his family. He had a wonderful family, and he was very proud of his lovely wife, Helen, and of their two children, Anna Marie and Peter.

I recall that he would bring Peter to the gymnasium and walk around and show him off. He was very proud of his son. His son was always very proud of his father.

That is something I carry with me in relationships that I try to establish with my own family.

Mr. President, we have lost a great man, and we have lost a great Senator. At the same time, the country has gained tremendously by having his 42 years of public service. Each of us who knew him gained very much by having him as our friend.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I, too, want to join my colleagues in expressing a deep sadness and a very real sense of personal loss on the passing of our good friend and respected fellow Senator, HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON. The outpouring of love, affection, and respect, which has welled up from so many Members in these past hours and days serves as a most fitting memorial and a tribute to a gentleman whose death was a devastating and stunning shock to us all.

In the days since his passing, we have heard many moving personal statements—from colleagues and certainly from members of his family—of instance after instance where SCOOP JACKSON rose above pettiness or partisanship or self-importance to share a great deal of himself with other human beings, I can certainly attest to that. My association with—and admiration for—SCOOP JACKSON goes back a number of years.

My father, Milward Simpson, served with him on the Interior Committee when SCOOP was chairman. And despite my father being of the "other faith," SCOOP went out of his way to assist my dad. Dad has always told me how much he appreciated those many kindnesses—and what a deep affection and regard he had for SCOOP JACKSON. My father is now nearly 86 years of age and with some very certain health problems, but when he learned of SCOOP's death, he said, "the whole Western World has lost a friend."

I came to this scene in 1979 and met the same steady and unflinching outpouring of courtesy and kindness from this man. On my first visit with him, SCOOP said, "let me know whatever I can do for you, Al, for I remember your dad with great affection and high regard. He was a friend of mine." That was

pretty heady stuff for a new raw recruit like I was. And coming from this man whom I greatly respected, a great American, it was pretty comforting, too.

But that was the way that SCOOP JACKSON was—a man who would always take time out to offer encouragement or a positive word to a new Member of this body—of whatever political stripe. I can tell you it was an honest gesture that meant much to me. And he proved it to be an authentic one time after time.

It was also a gesture that was totally in keeping with the character of this remarkable man. While he could be a tough and canny political foe on the floor or in any other forum, he was never so tough that the overwhelming humanity of the man did not just flow out to those around him.

He will be sorely missed—his leadership will be missed by his country—his wise advice and counsel will be missed by his State and by his party—and SCOOP JACKSON, the man, will be missed by each and every one of us in this body. For his was a stabilizing presence here. A kind word—a bit of encouragement—a slap on the back—so many little ways that you knew indeed that he was there and you also knew that he would often be there to wish you well. I remember several times right here at this desk—for the traffic is often heavy on this track here by the outfield wall—and I can often remember his hand on my shoulder and maybe a quick whisper “give’em the business, cowboy!” or “I’ll meet you over in the gym and I’ll turn the heat up for you!” and boy would he! Until the skin nearly peeled. Then he would give me that hearty laugh and we would visit there often. That was a forum of ours. Those are rich memories for me.

I remember on the day of a particular exciting success for me in this body and he said to me “I bet your dad would be proud of you—I think I will write him a note.” And he did and he would. That was pure SCOOP JACKSON.

And, then, of course, we officed together in the new Hart Building right next to each other. What was the first thing he wanted to do when we got settled—have a reception for both of our staffs. There was always a wonderful flow of informality and regard for the members of the whole staff there, and how well I remember his absolute generosity when Bob Hope visited the Senate, and SCOOP personally came over to my office

and invited each and every one of my crew to come over and meet Bob Hope and then of course he arranged a private time for me to do that. A generous and gracious act.

And he and Helen were always like that to Ann and to me, and we do not forget that, from our early days here.

And yet, we should not mourn this man, but we should celebrate his vital and vibrant life. We should celebrate the joy and the effervescence that he brought to this place. I shall miss him greatly, and my life is richer for having shared a portion of it with him in this body.

And in such times, then, we think also of, and our hearts go out to, the family of SCOOP JACKSON. Especially to the gracious, steady, and courageous Helen, a woman of real class and substance, and two children who I did not have the real privilege of coming to know well, Anna Marie and Peter—our thoughts and prayers go out to all of them. Just as SCOOP eased our way in this transitory life by sharing so much of himself with us, now we reach out to his lovely family in an effort to ease their pain in this trying time. Let them know that our collective strength and support and sympathy and condolences are ever extended to them and we share in their loss. May God bless them and buoy them up.

And we might just raise a strong paean of tribute and great pride to our departed friend, but sponge away further sadness or mourning. SCOOP would like that. So to him.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. President, only this unusual and tragic occasion would lead me to speak so early on the floor of the Senate. It is with a mixture of sadness and pride I rise to honor Senator HENRY M. JACKSON and to begin to try to fill those remarkable shoes.

We came from different political backgrounds but shared close associations during my gubernatorial years. SCOOP was always a loyal, enthusiastic supporter of Washington State. Asking "How can I help?" he listened carefully and acted promptly and effectively.

Some called him the "Senator from Boeing" in recognition of Government contracts awarded to Washington's largest manufacturer. But SCOOP just was enormously proud of the skills and ingenuity of the workers and the wisdom of their management. Boeing could succeed on merit.

Some called him the "Senator from Israel" but he recognized at the birth of that nation the fortitude and strength of a people seeking to be free, and the trials through which they had come.

To the eternal dismay of his political opponents he was consistently supported by both labor and the business establishment, by environmentalists, senior citizens, and most of all by the plain people who made his Washington strong.

He did not win those 70-percent electoral margins by promising too much nor ducking tough problems. He combined a careful command of facts, a refreshingly candid stand on issues, and a true compassion for his fellow humans.

His was the politics of courage, candor, and competence. It was stunningly successful.

SCOOP JACKSON was a man of two Washingtons. He was at home with the power brokers of the Nation's Capital, advised nine Presidents, and stood tall with international leaders. But first in his heart was Washington State and his lifelong roots. He was deeply in love with the land and the sea, reveling in the beauty of our rich and varied State, and the diversity of its people.

He will be remembered long in both Washingtons as a giant of the Senate. Even as his name begins to fade, as it does even to the best, his good works will remain:

A yet unborn child who will live in an America stronger and more free; a student able to finish an education through the scholarships he so quietly built; a 21st century youth striding the wilderness of the North Cascades, experiencing a unique link to our past in this untouched paradise.

These are the true legacies of HENRY JACKSON.

For those of us fortunate enough to know and work with him—Thank you, SCOOP.

For those who never met him but whose lives will be enriched by his works—Bless you, SCOOP.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, whose memory we honor today, was a rare and special human being.

With his passing, the Nation has lost what columnist George Will described as, "The finest public servant I have known," in the article that George Will wrote about him, in which he talked about SCOOP JACKSON as being his hero.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record that article to which I refer.

HE WAS THE FINEST PUBLIC SERVANT I HAVE EVER KNOWN

(By George F. Will)

Painted on the walls of the Senate reception room are portraits of the five men who were selected by a special committee, a quarter of a century ago, to constitute a kind of Senate hall of fame. The portraits are of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, La Follette, and Taft. There is no more space on the walls of that room, but there is a nonfunctional door. That door should be removed, and the wall filled in, and adorned with a portrait of a sixth Senator. A Senate hall of fame without HENRY MARTIN JACKSON is as unthinkable as Cooperstown without George Herman Ruth.

A silly person once said that only silly persons have heroes. But only exceptionally small persons will not pay homage to the exceptionally large persons among us. Heroes make vivid the values by which we try to live. I say, unabashedly, and with many others: HENRY JACKSON was my hero.

Because he was magnificently uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, dull persons considered him unexciting. But discerning persons by the millions recognized that his kind of character is as exciting as it is rare. Persons who, under the pressure of fashion, are as flexible as fly rods found JACKSON incomprehensible. They came to the absurd conclusion that he had departed from the liberal tradition.

He was a pioneer of environmentalism. He was the preeminent champion of civil rights. He fought for the full domestic agenda and authorized legislation that put teeth into U.S. pronouncements on behalf of Jews and others persecuted by the Soviet regime. And if JACKSON's proposals for substantial force reductions had been adopted, we might have had arms limitation agreements that actually limit arms.

The ironic truth is that JACKSON was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face toward adversaries.

JACKSON was an anchor against weariness, wishful thinking and apostasy in his party, and his country. He nurtured in this Republic something without which no republic can long endure: a sense that problems are tractable. To be in his presence was to experience the wholesome infection of a reviving spirit. This was especially remarkable because he, more than any contemporary, looked unblinkingly at, and spoke uncomfortably about, the terrors of our time. He taught less clear-sighted, less brave persons how to combine realism and serenity.

He missed the ultimate prize of our politics, perhaps because he lacked the crackling temperament that marks persons who burn on the surface with a hard, gemlike flame. If his political metabolism seemed uncommonly calm, that is because he had the patience of a mature politician—a gift of planning, thirst for detail, and a sense of ripeness in issues. He had a flame, but he had depth in which he kept it.

In committees and on the Senate floor, he was a cannon loaded to the muzzle with knowledge born of diligence. His unrivaled effectiveness was a rebuke to the less industrious and a refutation of the theory that in politics fancy footwork is necessary and sufficient.

A legislature is a face-to-face society, where character and moral force tell. What JACKSON did in committees and on the floor was awesome. But it was only a small fraction of the work he did during four decades of 18-hour days, working with one Member after another, one Member at a time, building coalitions of commonsense.

I remember a day, nearly a decade ago, when I went panting along in the wake of JACKSON on a campaign swing from Washington to Philadelphia to Shreveport and back. When I was decanted from the little plane after midnight, I was a broken shell of my former self. HENRY JACKSON, twice my age and fresh as a tulip, bounded off into the night.

His legendary energy flowed as much from his spirit as from his physiology. His biography is an essay on the sources of American vitality. He was the son of immigrants, and of the American West. He had the stamina of parents who crossed an ocean and then a continent, and he had the optimism of his region.

For longer than I have been alive, Congress has been embellished by his presence. And for longer than I live, public life shall be enriched by the radiating force of his character. Why? Consider.

If you wonder who real leaders are, find out who has real followers. By real followers I mean persons who follow a leader onto a path of life, who adopt careers where they navigate by stars he has taught them to see. The social geology of this city is layer upon layer of persons pulled into public life by the example of lives worth emulating. Today, in numerous public offices, and in law and journalism, there is a thick layer of HENRY JACKSON men and women.

There are those, and they are legion, who call themselves "Jackson Democrats." I can say with absolute authority that there is such a thing as a "Jackson Republican."

HENRY JACKSON mastered the delicate balance of democracy, the art of being a servant to a vast public without being servile to any part of it. He was the finest public servant I have known.

Mr. President, the Senate has lost a natural leader, a warm, patient, enormously intelligent man who time and time again instructed the rest of us in the true meaning of the expression "grace under pressure."

SCOOP JACKSON was the epitome of fairness. SCOOP JACKSON bespoke integrity in his every deed and word and action.

On a personal level, Mr. President, I have lost not only a warm friend but a kind and generous teacher and one who stood at my side in many a battle.

We did not always agree. The times we agreed were far more often than the times we disagreed. But even when you disagreed with SCOOP, there was always a kind of treatment of respect and fairness that he brought to the issue.

During my tenure in the Senate, I served with SCOOP JACKSON on the Energy Committee through many tiring and arduous hours of hearings, markups and, sometimes, rancorous debates.

During his chairmanship, the committee confronted some of the most serious crises this Nation has faced in recent years—the Arab oil embargo; natural gas decontrol; the Iranian oil crisis; oil price decontrol—just to name a few.

Through it all, SCOOP JACKSON was the statesman, bringing together the divergent views, allowing the time for all sides to be heard, using his great wit to liven the atmosphere and cool the tempers, all the time keeping a firm hand to direct us to the ultimate conclusion.

But SCOOP JACKSON was more than a great Senator.

In the best and truest sense, he was a great American patriot.

For SCOOP JACKSON, patriotism meant striving—40 years worth of striving—to fulfill the promise of America.

In terms of any selfish political calculation, SCOOP JACKSON had nothing to gain from his early and vigorous advocacy of civil rights legislation. But he was a man who could not bear to see his country's honor soiled by racial discrimination.

SCOOP JACKSON had nothing to gain, and much to lose in a political sense, by speaking out against McCarthyism. But he did speak out. He spoke out courageously. And for that alone, we are all in his debt.

In the late 1940's, at a time when the survival of the State of Israel was very much in doubt, SCOOP JACKSON, who once again had nothing to gain for himself, emerged as a forceful friend of the young Jewish state. He remained so for the rest of his life. And in Israel, the name of HENRY JACKSON will never be forgotten.

Mr. President, SCOOP JACKSON was not a flag waver or the kind of politician who appeals to chauvinism or prejudice.

SCOOP JACKSON was a believer—a believer in American liberty and in the fundamental human rights of people everywhere.

I am sure, Mr. President, that many of those who have formed our foreign policy over the years would have preferred not to have raised an issue like emigration in the course of dealing with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

But SCOOP JACKSON would not allow our negotiators to conduct business as usual. He insisted—and he wrote into law—the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which is perhaps the most important weapon we have in the area of human rights.

The Soviets have loudly rejected Jackson-Vanik. Some in this country have tried to repeal it.

But the fact is, Mr. President, that many thousands of Soviet Jews—and others as well—owe their freedom today to SCOOP JACKSON's hardnosed insistence that we make the right to emigrate a major point in our foreign policy. The Jewish community in the country loved SCOOP JACKSON more than any Member of the Congress.

This entire country mourns the passing of SCOOP JACKSON. In every part of the world, those who value freedom know that they have lost a friend.

In the Soviet Union, the persecuted dissenters and refuse-niks know that one of their great defenders is gone.

We are today expressing the pain that all of us feel about the death of a respected and beloved colleague. But, Mr. President, the Senate will feel the loss of SCOOP JACKSON for many, many years to come.

On behalf of myself, my wife Shirley, and all the members of the Metzenbaum family, I express to Helen Jackson, to Anna Marie, to Peter, our deepest sympathy and our condolences on their terrible loss. And I also add a special note of sympathy to his constant companion and friend, to Don Donohue.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I thank the Chair for this opportunity to rise and say a few words in tribute to the memory of my colleague and friend, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

Senator JACKSON has been eulogized by many in the days since his death on September 1, 1983, as a leader, statesman, hero, father, and friend. He was a man of immense personal integrity. He spent his entire public life serving the country he loved and striving to achieve a quality environment and a quality life for every individual. George Will has called SCOOP "the finest public servant I have ever known." I can think of no finer tribute.

Senator JACKSON served with great distinction as a Member of the House of Representatives and as a U.S. Senator from the State of Washington for 42 years. For 31 years, he was a member of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

and its predecessor, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. SCOOP was chairman of the committee with jurisdiction over natural resource, environmental, and energy legislation for 18 years, longer than anyone in the history of the Republic.

Senator JACKSON's unparalleled contributions to this Nation's energy and natural resource policies will provide innumerable benefits for the American people for decades to come. His dedication to the work of the committee and his many legislative achievements will long be remembered.

Senator JACKSON was responsible for the integrity of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources as an entity. The committee is respected as a working body because of SCOOP's untiring efforts and his nonpartisan approach.

I should not pass and cannot pass this moment without expressing my own personal appreciation to him for the assistance he gave to me, as a new Member of the Senate, and a new member of his committee, the committee that bore his imprint and his leadership for so many years.

I particularly appreciated his assistance to me when I assumed chairmanship of the committee. His cooperation and tremendous dedication to our work made the change of organization and the transfer of responsibility as smooth and as painless as it could be for everyone involved. Our deliberations in the committee have been less partisan in character and more bipartisan in their nature than much of the work of the Senate. It was SCOOP's strong belief that, "If we do disagree, we can do it without being disagreeable." He was truly a gentleman, and the workings of the committee bore his imprint of integrity for three decades.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution of that committee adopted at its first business session following his death be made a part of the Record.

RESOLUTION BY THE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, U.S.
SENATE—HENRY M. JACKSON

Whereas, HENRY M. JACKSON served with great distinction as a U.S. Senator and Representative from the State of Washington from 1941 to 1983; and

Whereas, Senator JACKSON was for 31 years a member of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources and its predecessor, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; and

Whereas, Senator JACKSON was the Chairman of the committee with jurisdiction over natural resource, environmental, and energy legislation for 18 years, longer than anyone in the history of the Republic; and

Whereas, Senator JACKSON's unparalleled contributions to the Nation's energy and natural resource policies will continue to provide innumerable benefits for the American people for decades to come; and

Whereas, Senator JACKSON's dedication to the work of this committee and his many legislative achievements will long be remembered: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources record with profound sorrow the death of HENRY M. JACKSON on September 1, 1983, and convey their deepest sympathies to his family and friends in Washington and throughout the country.

Mr. President, while Senator JACKSON was nonpartisan on many issues, there was one area in which he was indeed very partisan; that is, protecting the resources and the people of the Pacific Northwest. If anyone dared attempt a raid on the Columbia River or the Snake River or any of the beauties of his beloved Northwest, SCOOP JACKSON would "circle the wagons," and we all would join together in protecting our region. Senator JACKSON was a family man and the Pacific Northwest was a very special part of his family, and he in turn was part of ours.

I thought one of the most moving parts, one of the most moving tributes, at the memorial service held in his hometown of Everett, Wash., was the eulogy given by Congressman Tom Foley, as a former staff member and on behalf of that family of people who were SCOOP's staff, his fellow workers, some of whom, both past and present, are in the gallery today.

I think that bespeaks the truth of Tom Foley's words at that time of the special bond that this man had with members of that larger family of his that number in the hundreds at this time.

Scoop's passing is a great loss to the world, the Nation, and especially to the Pacific Northwest. His voice will be particularly missed in the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, as well as in the Senate. We have lost not only a leader, a statesman, a hero, a husband, a father, and a friend; we have lost an exceptionally fine man.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, I, too, would like to say a few words about my friend, SCOOP JACKSON. He was a very close friend, a fellow Scandinavian, a gentleman of enormous talent,

who enjoyed one of the most distinguished careers in the U.S. Senate.

This is a tough crowd in the Senate. It is not easy to earn their respect, but SCOOP JACKSON had it.

When I think of the fact that he passed away during a recess, when we had Senators scattered throughout the world and around our country, I would like to note that trips were canceled, and people changed their plans so they could attend the service that was given for him in Washington. Over 60 others traveled all the way across this country because they admired and loved this man.

I think SCOOP JACKSON exemplified what is the very finest and best in public service. He was compassionate, but he was strong. He was effective, but I never heard him be abrasive. He had an uncanny instinct for America's vital national interests and an ability to achieve them. He was a champion of the State of Washington, but he never forgot that he was a U.S. Senator looking out for the concerns of all of our country.

During his 30 years in the Senate, SCOOP established new standards of effective public service; he had the type of a career to which all of us in public service aspire, but very few achieve.

Many years ago, Mr. President, Andrew Jackson said one man with courage makes a majority. Senator JACKSON had unquestioned courage and sometimes would start out as one of very few, if not even alone, and would begin with his reason, with his integrity, with his knowledge of the facts, and with his persuasiveness to establish that majority.

I know of no Member that was more respected or trusted by his colleagues in the Senate. For many of us, when there was a difficult decision on defense, on environmental concerns, on human rights, we would say, "What does SCOOP think about this?" We asked that question because of SCOOP's experience, his instincts were sound, and his integrity was without question. SCOOP was a leader of the Senate, but he did not hold any title. He was a leader by example, by the respect he had earned in over three decades of service in this body.

Those of us who served with SCOOP in the Senate came to understand and admire his genius for consensus and his commitment to bipartisan politics in some of the critical issues facing this country. I think the latest evidence of SCOOP JACK-

son's statesmanship is the Bipartisan Commission on Central America. SCOOP appreciated the importance of Central America to our national security. He was able to draw on his rich legacy of experience in government and advance the idea of a commission to study ways in which we could respond to the overall needs of this region of Central America as, in turn, we had responded to the problems of Europe after World War II.

Together with SCOOP, I was appointed as an adviser to the Bipartisan Commission. That Commission is referred to as the "Kissinger Commission," but in reality it is SCOOP JACKSON's commission. SCOOP was the author, he was the originator, he was the persuading force that put it into being. He sold it as a way to overcome the partisan divisiveness and hammer out a consensus on where this country ought to go and how it ought to get there.

That is the way SCOOP liked to operate; he liked to bring people together and reason and develop that kind of common consensus to work for a secure and strong and prosperous America.

Mr. President, I want to say my friendship with SCOOP has meant a great deal to me. When I came to the Senate one of the rewarding things was I had a warm friendship with SCOOP JACKSON from the House. He has been more than a colleague; SCOOP was an inspiration, the epitome of what a U.S. Senator should be. All of us will miss him and all of us, I am sure, join Helen and the Jackson family in mourning the passing of a man who served his State, his country, and the U.S. Senate with the highest distinction.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, SCOOP JACKSON's death has meant great personal loss to his friends here in the Senate. Far more importantly, SCOOP JACKSON's death means the loss of a national asset. His three decades in the U.S. Senate were spent in acquiring a store of knowledge and experience which he exercised wisely and in an admirably bipartisan fashion to build a better and stronger America.

SCOOP was a true expert on defense who consistently voted his conviction that freedom for Americans and their allies depended upon an America strong enough to deter Soviet aggression. His legacy hopefully will be an America strong enough first to deter aggression, and strong enough then to

achieve arms reduction for lasting peace for which SCOOP JACKSON worked all of his life.

I was privileged to know SCOOP through our service together on the Senate Armed Services Committee. He was the ranking Democrat on the committee and I was the junior Republican during what were the first months of my Senate service and the last months of his 30 years in the Senate. Characteristically, as I was to learn, he took the initiative in our relationship, befriending me in my first days in the Senate. Nothing could have been more flattering. Now that I have had the opportunity to observe him for many months, nothing remains more flattering.

Quite deservedly, he exercised enormous influence on the deliberations of both the committee and the entire Senate in many, many matters, but particularly those that related to our foreign policy and to the status of our preparedness. I experienced personally during these too brief months of our friendship the wisdom and the thoughtfulness, the kindness and the compassion that won him the deep respect and affection of colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

I wish that I might have had longer to enjoy and learn from SCOOP JACKSON, but feel privileged to have been his friend and colleague these few brief months. More important is the loss to our Nation and to our friends throughout the free world. SCOOP JACKSON will be mourned, he will be missed, and finally he will be remembered and recorded by history as what he has been to America and to the world: A wise and valued leader of uncommon courage.

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON was the quintessential American for his era. He helped us see ourselves better. He emerged out of the great Northwest onto the national political scene like America onto the world in the late 1940's—fresh and strong; optimistic and purposeful; guided by a healthy moralism but never straitjacketed by it. Over the years his belief in America was never shaken. He saw our enemies clearly and insisted, at some political risk, that peace came through preparedness. He recognized our friends, too, and always stood by them. He reached down to those less fortunate and insisted that Government had commitments that must be kept. And, living between the majestic Olympics and the Cascades, he looked at the environment and saw some-

thing precious that must remain changeless for our children's children.

SCOOP tried for the Presidency twice and failed. Although that was a national loss, it was the Senate's gain. SCOOP JACKSON was a Senator's Senator. He gave the institution of the Senate his devotion, though he was never hesitant to speak out against Senators who would subvert its popular respect by tactics of fear or excuses of greed.

When he geared up for a battle, the best general would stand in awe. He laid out the record, oh, did he believe in the record of hearings and hearings that brought the voices of those who came because he asked them. And on that record he built his case. Quietly he assembled his troops, who joined their leader because they agreed with his point of view, yes, but also because they knew his preparation was flawless.

The more his loyal and superb staff fed him memos, the more he ate them up. He always made the meetings whether it was early morning hearings, birthday parties for colleagues, or the vote at 2:45 a.m. Simply, he loved his work. And he had more respect from more places than any Senator I have known. His view and range were global and so were his friends.

Above all, as we his Senate friends speak today, with him gone, we remember the man with the crinkly smile, the convert to health food and regular exercise, the chairman who gave generous credit and shared responsibility even with junior Members. He understood the bond of Senate camaraderie—that while it brings us close together, it never joins us fully. It seemed to suit his Presbyterian personality that was at the same time as simple as the lines of the Washington Monument and as complex as the concept of predestination. That must be why we cared for him so much.

I thought about all this last week as I sat in the straight-backed pew in Everett, Wash., and said goodbye.

We will miss him greatly.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, the sizable election mandates which HENRY JACKSON received from the people of Washington were ample evidence of the esteem in which the people of his State held him. The many tributes which have poured in during the days since his recent and untimely death are ample evidence of HENRY JACKSON's importance as a world figure and

a statesman. Today, we, his colleagues in the Senate, take this time to remember HENRY JACKSON and to pay him honor.

HENRY JACKSON was a Senator's Senator. He was a man who combined in the rarest way both firm conviction and collegiality. No one in this body ever doubted his commitment to the principles which he represented. Yet no one in this body ever doubted that he would represent those principles with tolerance, understanding, and grace. This combination of qualities is something for which each Senator strives, and SCOOP JACKSON's example will, I am certain, remain as large for us now as it did in the years during which he served with us.

Our thoughts go out to his family and to his closest friends. His family and friends are deeply aware of the loss which this institution and our country has experienced. It will be an important tribute to HENRY JACKSON to hold his principles and his example before us as we wrestle with the difficult questions we must now face without his leadership in debate.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, in Senator HENRY JACKSON's death, I lost a kind and considerate mentor, and my State lost a very special friend.

I was personally privileged, as the newest Democratic member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, to have worked closely with him in my first 8 months in the Senate. During that short time, we became good friends, and he invariably showed me great courtesy and wise counsel. I will miss him.

The people of my State knew Senator JACKSON even better and longer than I—he was an old and respected friend. He, in turn, felt very close to them.

Many times I referred to him as the third Senator from New Mexico, and I feel that he took pride in that title.

His concern for the State ran deep for many reasons. His wife, the former Helen Hardin, was a native of New Mexico and was raised there. Senator JACKSON met her while she was working on the late Senator Clinton P. Anderson's staff in Washington, and in 1961 she succeeded in ending, happily, his career as one of Washington's most eligible bachelors.

During their long careers in the Senate, JACKSON and Anderson often teamed up on key legislation that continues to benefit my State. They worked together, for instance, on legislation authorizing and appropriating funds for the two great research

laboratories in New Mexico—Los Alamos and Sandia. When Senator Anderson retired, SCOOP succeeded him as chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, which oversaw the activities of both of those two important research and development facilities.

The Senator from Washington was one of the great legislators of American history. He was a man who cared deeply about all of the United States and its people, and his passing is a tragedy for us all.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, it is my privilege on this sad occasion to pay tribute to our beloved colleague SCOOP JACKSON. His life and work will be long remembered, not only by those of us who had the honor of serving with him here in the Senate, but also by countless people all over the country who have benefited directly from the concerns and compassion he was in his long career able to translate into legislation.

I had the privilege, Mr. President, of knowing SCOOP JACKSON for longer than our Senate careers together. It was some three decades ago that I issued an invitation to him to come to Chicago to attend a conference at the University of Chicago Public Affairs Conference Center, part of which was held in the conference center and part of which was held in our home in Kenilworth, Ill.

As I worked with him for the first time for 3 solid days on an extraordinarily complex issue of national impact at that conference, I was deeply impressed by his perceptiveness, by his remarkable understanding of the issues, and by his exceptional ability to outline quickly clear-cut objectives. I carried those impressions with me during the 16½ years we served together in the U.S. Senate.

We served on the Governmental Affairs Committee together for that 16½-year period. One of my incentives for going on that committee was the opportunity to work with him. He was chairman and I was the ranking member of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Governmental Affairs Committee.

We worked intimately together. We did not always agree, obviously, but whenever we did disagree it was done in an agreeable way. No one could have more respect for the firm convictions with which Senator JACKSON always worked on every issue affecting the welfare of his country, his fellow

countrymen, and the welfare of his State of Washington, than I with the opportunity I had to work intimately with him.

It was a great pleasure that I had more constituents, even members of my family, in the State of Washington. Both of our sons, both of their wives and one grandchild, are residents of the State of Washington.

At one particular time in the business career of my son, Senator JACKSON made a valuable suggestion to me on my son's behalf that showed the way he perceived quickly a problem that I described to him, a challenge. Senator JACKSON looked on it as a challenge and he said, "here is an answer," and it was right on target.

That proved to be a very valuable suggestion that I was able to pass on to my son from his Senator, Senator SCOOP JACKSON.

Senator JACKSON was a fighter on behalf of good causes. He was a leader in protecting the environment, promoting a strong defense, and supporting the security of Israel, and the rights of Soviet Jewry. He was a true humanitarian and a tireless legislator.

He was a "world-class" Senator whose perspective was truly global. Yet his concern for the problems and conditions in his own State was legendary—nothing was too small for his consideration when it involved the State of Washington.

SCOOP was a fine friend. Loraine and I extend our heartfelt condolences to Helen, his beloved wife, to their beloved children, and to his entire family. All of us share their loss but are richer for having known him.

All of us are deeply grateful to Helen for everything she has meant to SCOOP JACKSON throughout the course of their married life. She loved him, supported him. How many times have we seen her helping him here, right in the Senate? How many times has she enriched our lives as she enriched his life and the life of every person that she has touched? I know that her spirit will always inspire us, just as SCOOP JACKSON's inspiration to every one of us shall be eternal.

How prophetic it was that his last press conference was an occasion for him to speak from the heart of a deep conviction about the nature of the Soviet Union at the very time millions, perhaps billions of people, for the first time in their lives, had a chance to really see what he had been talking about all his

life—the inhumanity of the Soviet Government to its own people, to the people of Eastern Europe, to the people of Afghanistan, to the people of the world, and the affront that they have made.

SCOOP JACKSON was a man of tremendous vision and great courage. He fought for everything he believed in that was right and he fought a good fight. His spirit shall always be with us as an inspiration to every single Member of this body.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, with SCOOP JACKSON's death, all of us here have lost a friend and leader, one of the kindest and most caring people any of us has ever known. None of us who knew him well and watched him tirelessly and effectively serve his country and the people of Washington State will ever forget him.

His legislative accomplishments are as many as they are wide in range. From human rights to civil rights, from national defense to arms control, from energy policy to environmental laws, SCOOP leaves the Nation a rich and full legislative legacy which will endure forever.

Nowhere is the breadth and timelessness of SCOOP's legislative accomplishments more apparent than in his contributions to conservation and the environment. As is true with so many of the causes HENRY JACKSON championed, he was ahead of his time on natural resource policy. Twenty-five years ago, he became the chairman of what was then called the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs—now the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. He spent years carefully and skillfully crafting and guiding legislation through the Senate which is now the legal bedrock of the conservation movement throughout this country. The Wilderness Act, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, the National Trails System Act, the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, the Redwood National Park Act, the Federal Lands for Parks and Recreation Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, the Youth Conservation Corps Act, the Federal Land Policy and Management Act, the Surface Mining and Reclamation Act, the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act Amendments of 1978, and in 1980, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. What a list. They all bear the mark of SCOOP JACKSON's leadership, his patience, his fairness, and his commitment to the protection and wise management of America's precious natural resources.

For his beloved Washington State, he was the prime sponsor of legislation establishing the North Cascades National Park, the Lake Chelan and Ross Lake National Recreation Areas, the Alpine Lakes Wilderness, the Protection Island National Wildlife Refuge, the Mount St. Helens National Monument, and the expansion of Olympic National Park.

Of course, for those of us who worked closely with SCOOP on these things, particularly those on the Energy Committee, this impressive list of legal and policy accomplishments in the field of conservation and the environment is only part of the story. Long after the pages in the law books have yellowed and the print faded, we will remember the grace, the style, and the good judgment that SCOOP displayed at every stage of the legislative process. He was, to be sure, the consummate politician who had few equals in the ability to get things done in the Congress. He put these considerable skills to work for a number of causes, not the least of which was the environment. But more importantly, he was a gentleman; he was a teacher; he was an honorable and loyal public servant. For SCOOP, a noble end never justified ignoble means.

Only a few weeks before his death, he spent a day traveling by helicopter through the Cascade Mountains as a prelude to making the final decisions on the drafting of a statewide wilderness bill for Washington.

At SCOOP's request, the group took a short detour to view a spectacularly beautiful lake basin east of his hometown of Everett in the Mount Baker-Snoqualamie National Forest known as Monte Cristo. He spent his brief time there absorbing the breathtaking scenery and regaling his fellow travelers with stories about the sea.

It seemed that he had spent a lot of his happy days as a boy hiking, camping, and swimming the many hot springs that dot that area. He never forgot that place, and its memory served to forge and strengthen his strong commitment to protect the best of America's remaining park and forest lands. SCOOP had not returned to Monte Cristo since his boyhood. Mostly he had been here, of course, serving the Nation and the people of Washington State. He had had little time for nostalgic visits to his childhood haunts. But now, ironically, here he was in what would prove to be the twilight of a magnificent career, soaking

up the enduring beauty and remembrances of this place that was so special to him.

I cannot help but believe that SCOOP is there now in Monte Cristo and in countless other places he worked so hard to preserve for all of us—there in spirit and forever.

Just a personal note, Mr. President. I came to the Senate prepared not to like SCOOP JACKSON. I did not know him. I had met him at the 1972 convention when he was running for President and I was chairman of our delegation. But against my wishes, I was put onto the committee he chaired. And in short time he and Helen invited—I never will forget it—John and Annie Glenn, Betty, and me for a Sunday lunch. And just in 2 hours' time I already had begun to change my opinion of him.

To shorten the story, he became a mentor, a tutor, a guide. He told me a lot of the pitfalls that I could avoid and save myself a lot of trouble. And so I came to love him. Nobody enjoyed turning the heat up in the sauna like he did so he could boast about his Viking background. It was a thing he regaled us all about.

The other day I was on television. The question was, "What do you think he would most like to be remembered for?" The answer I gave was probably not a very good one. I said that SCOOP considered himself a visionary, and he was. He saw a lot of things before the rest of us saw them. But, obviously, there were a lot of other things, like the way he took on Joe McCarthy before anybody else recognized the dangers that McCarthyism was presenting to the Nation.

I could go on and list all of those things in which SCOOP JACKSON took such great pride. I have already listed many legislative accomplishments. But I know the thing that he would want to be remembered for most is that of being a devoted husband and a loving father. If you did not have an hour to spend, you should not ask SCOOP about his children. All of us who are parents certainly can relate to that. I will miss him. We already all miss him. And so to Helen and their two beautiful children, I rise to express my deep and profound sympathy on the loss of my dear friend.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, few American leaders remain at the center of political influence for decades—Senator HENRY M. JACKSON was such an individual. For more than 40 years,

Senator JACKSON served his constituents and the Nation, first as a Member of the House of Representatives, and then for the last 31 years as a Member in the Senate.

Although I had only personally known Senator JACKSON for just a few years, I quickly grew to respect his integrity, his fortitude, and his broad knowledge and understanding of the issues. In the last 2½ years, I worked with Senator JACKSON on the Energy Committee. His contributions to national energy policy over the years have been significant and will be felt for years to come.

Senator JACKSON was a true patriot. His tireless efforts in trying to strengthen our national defense are hardly equaled in the Senate and are certainly respected. His efforts to help maintain peace around the globe and stability here at home have been appreciated by all. He was a stabilizing force in the Senate and his commonsense and moderation will be sorely missed by both sides of the aisle.

I am truly thankful to have known him and to have worked with him. My prayers and condolences go to his wife and to his family.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart that I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON of Washington. He was a dear friend and a constant counselor to me, and I mourn his passing deeply.

It was while he was on his honeymoon with Helen that I first met SCOOP in Honolulu. Our friendship continued during the 14 years I served in the House, and upon my election to this body in 1976 SCOOP became my mentor on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee which he then chaired. His courtesies were boundless as I attempted to make my mark as a fighter for renewable energy technologies.

The very fact that I am a U.S. Senator today and a former Member of the House I owe in no small measure to SCOOP JACKSON, for as floor manager of the admissions bill SCOOP played a crucial role in achieving statehood for Hawaii in this very Chamber.

In listening to the eulogies offered to his memory here today and reading press tributes, the word used most often is "giant."

Mr. President, I, too, spoke of him as being a giant in the political life of this Nation for decades. This is evident in the litany of his legislative accomplishments we have heard here this morning. But he was such an approachable giant, so unpretentious and good humored to everyone he met without exception, not only on this floor or even throughout the corridors of the Hill, Mr. President, but throughout this great land of ours.

Had he gained the Presidency, a position for which he was eminently qualified by intellect, experience, and strength of character, his administration would have been the most effective antidote for resolving any dangers of an "imperial Presidency" one can imagine. While he carried the weight of the world in the range of his interests and concerns, he traveled through life unburdened by an abundance of the world's material goods. One had only to see him driving his car to appreciate that.

If his lifestyle was modest his lifework was, nonetheless, prodigious. In what field of legislation has he not left an indelible imprint for good? The strength of our national security and our position in world affairs owe much to his steadfast, constant efforts over the years. His was the leadership we looked to in meeting the oil crisis early in the last decade. As chairman of the Interior Committee and then the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he was known for his advocacy of atomic power and more domestic oil exploration. But he recognized the need for the Nation to broaden the mix of its energy resources, Mr. President, and encourage me in my efforts to foster new, renewable sources as well. And while he led the way in supporting the domestic oil industry to achieve greater production, he nevertheless became that industry's ablest critic in delving into its price hikes following the Arab oil embargo.

Military and energy preparedness were only the beginning of his reach. Consider the environment. SCOOP, who was advocating wilderness protection in the 1950's, wrote the National Environmental Protection Act and was largely responsible for the North Cascades and Redwood National Parks. In the realm of civil and human rights and the protection of minorities, he was a most effective lawmaker. He fashioned the Jackson amendment, which denies most-favored-nation treatment to

those who would bar free emigration, such as of Jews to Israel. It is one of the most effective pieces of human rights legislation ever devised in Congress. He also authored the Indian Education Act and the Alaskan Native Claims Act. A firm friend of labor of long standing, he was a pioneer in the social welfare legislation we take for granted today.

All that I have mentioned only touches on the last half of his career in Washington. He was so youthful, vigorous, and forward looking, with such a young family, it was easy to lose sight of the fact that he first entered Congress before our country entered World War II. Except for wartime Army service, SCOOP represented his State here in Washington since 1940 when he was elected to the House; he has served in the Senate since 1952. A New Deal Democrat with the experience of the 1930's behind him, he believed firmly in the uses of Government to better the lot of people. But he recognized early in his career that the instrument of Government also can be applied to tyrannize people as well as help them; and as a young Congressman and Senator, he could see examples of this at both ends of the political spectrum. He also had the courage and ability to match this clarity of vision and act upon it.

That vision was the essence of his greatness, Mr. President. In a congressional career spanning more than four decades, he was ever an astute lawmaker of wide range. But for all his breadth of interest, ability, and concern, he bore a steady compass of conviction. He appreciated the diversity of his country and never faltered in his belief in its founding ideals. His legislative work has stood the test of time in ways few of us can ever hope to achieve.

Great men have stood in this Chamber throughout the years, Mr. President. It is my faith that many more will follow and our Nation will continue to be well served by the deliberations of this body. But we today may not see the likes of SCOOP JACKSON again in our lifetime. He was one of a kind.

Mr. President, may I add that Senator JACKSON was a public man who cherished the values of family life above all, perhaps more so for having married and undertaken parenting responsibilities when he was well along in life's journey. As I mentioned earlier he and his lovely wife, Helen, who is here today,

spent their honeymoon in Hawaii and returned often to our shores where they were both very much loved.

The floral tribute you see at his desk, Mr. President, is a reflection of that high regard. The anthurium display was prepared by Alan Kuwahara, a Big Island flower grower from Pahoehoe, and the white ginger lei was sewn by Mrs. Lillian Nishi of Manoa, Oahu. Both Lillian and her husband, Dr. James Nishi, were deep admirers of SCOOP, as are we all.

So to Helen and her children, Peter and Anna Marie, I extend my heartfelt condolences and God's aloha from the people of Hawaii.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I have lost a friend, and already I miss him.

As you know, we have been on the road campaigning; but, invariably, whether Senator JACKSON had been on a trip or whether we were in daily attendance, there was the evening period in the gym. I learned long ago that in the Senate gym you could find out more about what occurs and what is to occur around here than anywhere else. And you make friendships there.

We did not serve on the same committees; but as a young junior Senator, I learned long ago in that gym to swim around in that pool at the same time he did. We talked, and whether it was the Panama Canal Treaty, whether it was the defense budget, whether it was a matter of environment or anything else, I always valued SCOOP's judgment. He was the best guide I had in the U.S. Senate over these many years. And yesterday, when I came back and went to the gym, he was not there.

In this Chamber we have mourned the passing of many wise and good Americans, men and women who have left their mark on this great land. But it is rare when a person of historic stature leaves us, because such people are so rare. HENRY M. JACKSON was such a man. Indeed, I think we would have to go all the way back to another great man, Richard Brevard Russell, to find a Senator so effective, a politician so constant, and a colleague of character so sterling.

I first met SCOOP in 1960 at the Democratic National Convention, and we worked together in those challenging days for the John F. Kennedy victory in the 1960 elections. When I came to the Senate in 1966, SCOOP had already been here 14 years. He reached out to this novice Senator, proffering his

counsel, his judgment, his friendship. I jumped at the opportunity and benefited from it almost on a daily basis over these past 17 years. He struck me immediately as a unique public servant. He was not “flashy” or overbearing, but rather was a man of calm judgment and steadiness, a man whose basic decency, honesty, and commonsense were the keys to his leadership ability. He had what many strive for but few attain—the true respect of his colleagues, and he never ever betrayed that respect.

SCOOP was one of those rare breed of politicians who could truly be called statesmen. He was a man of strong principle, but he knew compromise and coalition-building were essential for the proper functioning of government. He was a professional. He was unabashedly proud to be an American and in his patriotism reflected all that is good and decent in this country of ours.

He understood the necessity for bipartisanship in America’s dealings with the rest of the world and he worked mightily to achieve consensus with Presidents of both our political parties. But he was never a rubberstamp to anyone. We all know that he knew exactly how to get his viewpoints across to colleagues here in Congress, to Presidents, and to leaders the world around.

As we came out of the conferences, as we all know, in the Democratic Caucus, it was SCOOP JACKSON who was taking the position for balance, for realism, for our Democratic response to Central America. He was challenged by some of the colleagues for even serving on that particular bipartisan commission. I think he appointed himself as a professional looking, if you please, not just to the good of the party, but more than anything else into a very, very dangerous situation for the President—who is not as mature, not of the judgment, not of the experience, certainly not of the international intellect of HENRY M. JACKSON.

The record shows that few Americans have had so much respect overseas, from both allies, who admired his constancy, and from adversaries, who understood his determination, and few Americans had so much of a better understanding of foreign policy.

As one of those out on the track, you are asked many, many questions. Under the law you make no commitments, and I am

not even in the position of committing, as I well know. But I have always stated that listening to SCOOP, his sense of history to my mind would have certainly made him a much, much better Secretary of State than a Secretary of Defense.

We all remember that there were two Republican administrations who considered SCOOP for high appointed office. I refer in these comments to the fact that SCOOP was a hawk and he knew defense, and, of course, many regarded him in the national media as a potential Secretary of Defense. If they knew him more intimately, as I had the wonderful privilege, they would have known him as a student of history, one who knew the peoples, the economies of the world, and who would have been the finest of Secretaries of State.

As a thing that is needlesome in this day and age, where people look for headlines, SCOOP looked for headway.

He was an insider in the positive sense of the term. In this increasingly media-conscious town, SCOOP enjoyed such tremendous respect because he would not grandstand. He just did his homework and went about persuading his fellow citizens of his case. His strength came from his untiring diligence, his command of the issues, and the finely honed character with which he met every problem.

With his no-frills approach, Senator JACKSON was a leader without match on a whole host of vital national issues, be it energy, the environment, foreign policy, or defense. He made his mark with historic initiatives in every one of these areas, showing a breadth of interest that is almost mind-boggling in this day of specialization and single issue politics.

Tempered by the fires of his experience in World War II, he became one of this Nation's staunchest defenders against tyranny, on the right or the left. No one was stronger in his antipathy for the Soviets than he. Yet there was SCOOP, as a junior Senator, standing up to the redbaiting demagoguery of Joe McCarthy when many of the senior Senators dared not take a stand.

He had an unwavering courage when it came to defending the freedom and individual liberties of his fellow man, a concern that gained him the everlasting love and respect of his constituents.

In his 31 years of experience as a Democratic Senator, SCOOP JACKSON was a pillar of our party. As a man who knew

inherently that politics is the art of consensus-building, he was one of the anchors that made the Senate a viable governing body for three decades. As a Democrat, SCOOP represented what our party stood for at its best. His belief in protecting and defending the rights of Americans against perils at home and abroad won the support of a broad spectrum of voters and gave meaning to the term "Jackson Democrat." He set the mold and it is his kind of democracy to which our party should always remain true, not just to insure success at the polls, but more importantly, to maintain our commitment to the principles which built this land.

It is extremely unfortunate that the people of our country never had a chance to benefit from his service in the Nation's highest office. He would have been, I am convinced, a great President. Quite to the point, in 1976 when my Southern colleague, Jimmy Carter, was running, it was my privilege at that particular time to be supporting HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON for President.

But he contributed more than many Presidents to the well-being of his country, and when the history of our time is written, HENRY M. JACKSON will stand out as one of the handful of leaders who understood where America should be heading. He knew because he understood where we had been. And most of all, he knew the strength and goodness of our people.

People who say they do not believe in politicians any more are waiting, I am convinced, for political leaders who behave as though they believe in the people. That, in its essence, was the credo of SCOOP JACKSON. That was the reason for his success. And that belief, that elemental trust and confidence and decency, is—even more than all the landmark legislation—his finest legacy to the land he loved.

To his indomitable wife Helen, to his children Anna Marie and Peter—we will miss Peter in the gym on Saturday morning, and I do not mind that in the Record; he started there years ago, and I think that is where he first started to learn to swim—goes our deepest sympathy in this hour of tragic loss. We share your grief. We share your sense of loss. And we share your pride and thankfulness in having the privilege of closeness to one of the best this country has ever produced.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. President, our Nation has lost one of its best friends in the death of SCOOP JACKSON. It is a deep

personal loss for me but a far greater loss for this body and the Nation as a whole.

For those of a shallow understanding of statesmanship, for those who like to neatly categorize politicians through a simplistic catch phrase, SCOOP JACKSON was and will always remain an enigma.

As a Senator, he gave fresh meaning to the words "reasonable" and "moderation." And he accomplished this by being, always, true to himself.

When I first came to the Senate in 1973, I was assigned to the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. SCOOP JACKSON was, of course, chairman of the subcommittee.

During the time we worked together there, he conducted a rigorous schedule of hearings on many subjects, a number of which involved intricate matters or sequences of events. Not once did he ever fail to master the substance or the details.

He was knowledgeable and dedicated in a way that should be an example and an inspiration for us all. My service with Senator JACKSON on that subcommittee was a valuable lesson; indeed, for a freshman Senator.

Senator JACKSON and I again became committee colleagues in 1979, when he was first appointed to the Select Committee on Intelligence. There was no stronger or more active proponent of the need for a more effective U.S. intelligence community than Senator JACKSON.

In 1979, the Select Committee on Intelligence was responsible for preparing a comprehensive assessment for the Senate of the capabilities of the U.S. intelligence community to monitor compliance with the proposed SALT II agreements. Senator JACKSON studied the issues in depth and worked closely with all of us on the committee to reach agreement on a unanimous report that was completed by the committee in the fall of 1979. Senator JACKSON's active participation in this bipartisan effort contributed to its success.

Senator JACKSON proudly recalled his longstanding support for the idea of a permanent intelligence oversight committee. He had supported resolutions to create such a committee in 1956, and again in 1966. His experience as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy had convinced him that

the Congress was fully capable of exercising oversight with respect to the most sensitive activities of the Government.

Those of us who worked to establish the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in 1976 owe a debt of gratitude for Senator JACKSON's pioneering work over two decades, as well as to his support for the passage of the Intelligence Oversight Act, requiring the CIA and other agencies to keep the intelligence oversight committees "fully and currently informed" of all intelligence activities.

At the same time, he remained sensitive to the need to maintain respect for individual rights by opposing efforts to expand CIA operations in the United States.

We will always remember his wise admonition that the key to better performance by the intelligence community and adherence to the rule of law would be found in the character of the people charged with the responsibility of Government.

His admonition holds true for the U.S. Senate as well. Better performance is found in the character of the people charged with the responsibility of Government. SCOOP JACKSON's service to this body added immeasurably to the character of the U.S. Senate. He will be sorely missed.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, HENRY JACKSON hailed from Washington State, and that made all the difference. His integrity towered as high as the Cascades. His intellect sparkled like Puget Sound. And his vision matched anything to be seen from the top of Seattle's space needle. He never forgot which Washington was his true home; even seeking the Presidency itself, he never succumbed to Potomac fever yet he graced this Chamber with a personal style that went far beyond mere charisma. He cared more for mankind than the media. And in this city, where some of the greatest of heroes are easier to admire than to like, HENRY JACKSON was never deserted by his audience, nor criticized personally by his most dogged opponents.

We in the Senate like to think of ourselves as Members of a distinguished body, elevated by tradition and enriched by statesmanship. In truth, we are nothing more than a collection of men and women, highly fallible, subject to the whims of ambition and the necessities of the moment. To guide our conduct along a higher path, we have history and precedent to show the way—and occasionally a colleague whose own sure-footedness instills a sense of direction in others.

If we are to lead, we must first have leaders. HENRY JACKSON was a leader. The figure he cut in this institution is matched only by the impact he had on four decades of legislative life, on the terms of nine Presidents, on the defense of the Nation he loved with unabashed patriotism, and on the world he recognized as the dangerous and unstable place it is. The list of his legislative achievements alone entitles him to membership in that small, select company who have raised the Senate to a level roughly commensurate with its own pretensions. But if he had never authored a bill, never fostered a program, never rescued a wilderness acre or conserved an invaluable energy resource, SCOOP JACKSON would still deserve the praise of his colleagues and the favorable verdict of history.

Because he came to us, all Americans can live a little more safely. Because he stayed with us for 40 years, the political process itself is a little nobler, a little less violent in its partisanship. Because he shared his commonsense and uncommon sensitivity with two generations of Washington figures, decency is in greater supply and humanity outweighs personal advantage on the scales of public life.

HENRY JACKSON'S concerns, like his career, spanned the globe. But when I think of him, always there appears the rugged images of Washington State, the mountains and valleys and wildflowers that were his heritage and which he hoped to preserve for all who followed in his footsteps. And I think of the words of another Washingtonian, William O. Douglas, who once described his feelings on the day of his father's funeral, in the shadow of a great peak named Adams.

As I stood by the edge of the grave (wrote Justice Douglas) a wave of loneliness swept over me. Then I became afraid—afraid of being left alone, afraid because the grave held my defender and protector * * *. Then I happened to see Mount Adams towering over us on the west. It was dark purple and white in the August day and its shoulders of basalt were heavy with glacial snow. It was a giant whose head touched the sky. As I looked, I stopped sobbing. My eyes dried. Adams stood cool and calm, unperturbed by the event that had stirred us so deeply. Suddenly, the mountain seemed to be a friend, a force for me to tie to, a symbol of stability and strength.

Like the mountain in the west, HENRY JACKSON towers over our deliberations. He, too, is a giant whose head and whose heart touched the sky. He, too, is a symbol of national stability and national strength. Today, all of us feel alone; many of us feel a little bit afraid. But we have our memories. We have his

example. And his life will remain a landmark for all of us confronted with the troubling issues of a perilous time. It will make the horizon a more inviting place.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, while there is probably no such thing as a timely death, there are certain times when a man's death especially eludes comprehension. While it is never easy to endure the loss of a friend and close colleague, there are certain friends and close colleagues whose deaths leave especially vast voids.

Early September is a time when we are reinvigorated by the life forces that burst through nature's summer and restored by a period of recreation with our families. In September 1983, SCOOP JACKSON was at the highest point of his influential and effective service in the U.S. Senate. SCOOP JACKSON's death on September 1 especially eludes comprehension.

SCOOP JACKSON exemplified the qualities of loyalty, selflessness, and affection that make friendship between men possible. He was a good friend. SCOOP JACKSON exemplified the qualities of competence, diligence, and lofty character that make a collegial enterprise such as the Senate of the United States of America viable. He was a close colleague. SCOOP JACKSON's death on September 1 leaves an especially vast void.

As bitter as the grief we feel at SCOOP JACKSON's death, it can only approximate that which his wife Helen, his daughter Anna Marie, and son Peter must endure. I hope that their pain is slightly lessened by their awareness of the intense admiration and affection which we reserved for their husband and father and our cherished friend. As SCOOP's colleague from Washington, Senator Gorton, has reminded us "We, in the Senate, may have thought that SCOOP belonged to us; his family knew better * * *. We thank them for sharing him with us."

Senator JACKSON was first elected to Congress by the people of Washington State in 1940 at the age of 28. He was reelected to the House of Representatives five times. In 1952, he successfully ran for the Senate and was a unique Member of this body ever since.

During these 43 years in the U.S. Congress, SCOOP developed irreplaceable expertise in a wide range of areas. He is, perhaps, best known for his exceptional knowledge in the areas of national defense and atomic energy. His support not

simply for the labor movement but, more fundamentally, for the needs and aspirations of the working men and women of this country was deep and continuous.

He was a major architect of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and, as such, in the front ranks of the effort to preserve America's extraordinary environmental wealth and beauty. Perhaps nurtured by his visit to the Buchenwald concentration camp after its liberation, he was a valiant supporter of the State of Israel and the struggle of Jews everywhere to establish religious freedom and physical safety. More broadly, it was perhaps because of his concern to protect beleaguered minorities everywhere from the forces of persecution and State tyranny that he worked so adamantly for a strong national defense.

Of as great a worth, however, to those of us who had the good fortune to work with SCOOP JACKSON as his knowledgability and competence in all these areas was his wisdom and sense of history. Senator HENRY JACKSON was intimately involved in most of the great public affairs of the last 40 years that shaped the constitutive elements of today's world. SCOOP's steadfastness of purpose and adherence to principle had already allowed him to see above the fray of day-to-day events and smaller considerations—both in the world and in this legislature. Fortunately for us, however, his wealth of experience only intensified his ability to see unfolding political and social events in a profoundly historical and human sense.

Men and women are individuals and, as such, able, in the exercise of their wills and human faculties, to shape to some extent the worlds in which they live. Men and women are also historical entities. They are the products of larger historical entities. They are the products of larger historical forces, they swim in undiscernible historical currents; and they contribute to future historical fact. SCOOP had a humbling appreciation and understanding for this complex matter of the individual in history.

In his own life he was, by an objective standard, an inordinately successful and powerful individual. He deserved to be. Through unsurpassed hard work and dedication to fulfilling the intensely complex and varied responsibilities of a U.S. Senator, SCOOP consistently over 40 years won the admiration of both Washington State and the Senate. It was admiration that

allowed him to become former chairman of the Energy and National Resources Committee, to become ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, to become a productive legislative craftsman in areas ranging from the benefits for labor to statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, to national parks, to Strategic Air Command.

On the other hand, SCOOP's appreciation of what is, in another sense, the smallness of the individual in historical time preserved his deep humility and his sense of fellowship with all the people in Washington State, in the United States, and throughout the world whom he felt he had to honor to serve in the U.S. Senate.

It was remarked as curious that Senator JACKSON encompassed political principles that do not often grow together in the political flora. He was a deep humanitarian, yet also labeled an archtypical "cold warrior." He was an early environmentalist, yet a late supporter of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war. He was a staunch friend of labor yet an insistent spokesman for increased spending on American military programs.

Yes, SCOOP JACKSON was a complex man. But the great public issues to which he dedicated his life were equally complex. Senator HENRY JACKSON's complexity was born from his individual effort which yielded him insight into these complex issues and earned him the stature to leave a mark on them in history. It was also born from a sensibility which left him open to and therefore aware of the largeness of history and the gravity of its consequences.

These are qualities of character that are indispensable for wise navigation through the affairs of state. As a fellow American and fellow Senator, I will deeply miss SCOOP's experienced guidance in the deliberations over the activities of the United States. As an individual man, I will be grateful for the good fortune to have known SCOOP and remember his exemplary life.

Mr. President, I, like I suspect others of my age and my generation, am in a slightly difficult position to stand and eulogize HENRY JACKSON, especially following men like Senator Dole and Senator Hollings and Senator Bumpers, all men who had a close personal relationship with him, knew him well and had worked with him in many, many battles.

Quite frankly, particularly because Mrs. Jackson is still here, I would just like to say something from the heart and try to be as honest about it as I can.

I cannot say that, as I said, SCOOP JACKSON was a personal friend of mine in the way those other men who talked about him. That would be presumptuous on my part. I am 40 years old. SCOOP JACKSON had done as much of American politics before I was born as I have done up to this date, and he clearly has done so much more than I or most of my colleagues in this Chamber will ever be able to do to affect the welfare of this country.

But I did have a relationship with SCOOP JACKSON of which I am quite proud, and I think it reflects a side of SCOOP that maybe the men who knew him and were personally and emotionally closer to him than I was, maybe they did not even know.

I look up there and I see Don Donohue, and I remember in 1972 SCOOP JACKSON was fighting awfully hard for the nomination to be President in Miami, and things were at a fairly critical stage for him. It was the night before the voting was going to take place, and a 29-year-old kid from Wilmington, Del., who did not even know where Miami was let alone about being a U.S. Senator, who was trying like the devil for some legitimacy in order to convince constituents that he should run for the U.S. Senate—he found out, this young aspirant found out, that SCOOP JACKSON was having dinner alone with friends at a house in suburban Miami.

Another person said, “Why don’t you just go over and knock on the door and ask SCOOP JACKSON for help?” And I said, “You have gotta be crazy. I never met SCOOP JACKSON, I don’t know him. He is an international figure. I am 29 years old. You want me to get some legitimacy? My God, the one way to prove I am crazy is to do that.”

This one person, who happened to know the people with whom SCOOP was having dinner, went up and knocked on the door. Don Donohue answered the door. He walked to the door, and never having seen me before in his life, I said, first of all, I was a Democrat. I was so scared I did not know what to say. I said I was a Democrat and I was running for the Senate in Delaware and that I wanted to—and I just stopped. I did not know whether Don—I stopped and I was tonguetied. I

know it is difficult for people in this Chamber to believe, but I was tonguetied.

Don said, "You want to speak to SCOOP?" Well, my God, it took me 3 years to even call SCOOP "SCOOP," and I said, "Well, yes." And he said, "Well, come on in."

SCOOP was in there eating something he always liked, dessert, and he was sitting at a table and everybody was having dinner. SCOOP said, "Come on in, sit down. What's the problem?"

I started to talk with him. He got me dessert, and I sat there, having crashed a dinner that was supposedly designed—and Mrs. Jackson was there also—for relaxation for SCOOP JACKSON while he was desperately trying to hang on to the prospect of being the nominee, the Democratic nominee, for President.

Shortly after I got to the U.S. Senate, again SCOOP JACKSON with whom I had very serious disagreements on foreign policy—Senator Hollings who is probably the brightest man in the Senate today said how he admired Senator JACKSON's foreign policy position—I disagreed with him. I disagreed with him on almost everything in foreign policy. Every time we talked I disagreed with him.

Right after I was elected or just before I was elected, I had a little problem with my family that concerned me a great deal. Who was in my office a week after I got here? SCOOP JACKSON, saying, "Is there anything I can do for you?" He did not say "Anything I can do for you politically," such as "Can I help you get on committees," which he had already done, but he wanted to know whether or not he could help me.

He knew my brother was with me a lot and sort of taking over to help me move along, my youngest brother, my young brother and best friend. He said, "Why don't you have your brother Jim come down here and work for me?"

There was not anything—I did not ask him for anything. I could not believe it.

After that, in 1978 I was up for reelection, after having disagreed with SCOOP JACKSON almost repeatedly on things relating to foreign policy, particularly the SALT agreement. What happened? I was in real trouble. The right was coming at me. I would have been embarrassed because I disagreed with

SCOOP so much on foreign policy questions to call SCOOP and say, "SCOOP, come help me."

SCOOP JACKSON called me unsolicited and said, "I was up in Philadelphia and I was speaking to a friend of yours, a guy named Sonny Dogole," who was really SCOOP's friend, "and he said you have got real problems in Delaware. What do you want me to do? You have got those guys from the right coming at you. What do you want me to do?"

He came into Delaware to help me. He went out unsolicited and raised money for me from his friends. SCOOP JACKSON I suspect did that for a lot of people other than Joe Biden, and maybe that is the one side of SCOOP JACKSON that I can offer as a contribution to this testimonial to SCOOP JACKSON that his senior colleagues who were close friends of his, my senior colleagues, close friends of his, either did not need or did not know.

But there is one place where I agreed with SCOOP JACKSON, I did not agree with everything else he did in the Senate, but there was one place where SCOOP JACKSON's commitment literally emotionally moved me, and he and a guy, for a totally different reason, Hubert Humphrey, changed my whole perspective on an issue that I had up to that point felt not nearly as strongly about, and that was Israel, and I suspect it was after a long, long discussion with SCOOP JACKSON and his telling me about his attitude and about after World War II, his visit to the Buchenwald concentration camp and what it meant and how it was, and so on, and encouraged me to do and make several long visits, which I did, to Israel, and then to Eastern Europe, and then to the concentration camps in Western Europe, which was the first time I was able to understand with any of the sense and depth of emotion that he, like me, a non-Jew, felt about what had happened.

SCOOP JACKSON changed a major part of my political life and my attitude about a whole segment of society that I did not understand before.

I can only say there is only one place that I probably have prior experience to Mrs. Jackson and the family, and that is that unfortunately we share a similar tragic occurrence in our lives. We have each lost a spouse.

I suspect right at this time in Mrs. Jackson's life and the life of their children there is a feeling that the black cloud will

never go away; that nothing will ever change; and that every time a memory of SCOOP is conjured up, which will be daily, it probably brings a tear to their eyes.

There is only one thing I can assure you: As time goes on, memories of SCOOP will not bring a tear to your eye but a smile to your lips. As time goes on, it will be reinforcement. The pain will never go away, the memory will never leave, but you will find it will turn that something that just brings on a serious piece of depression; that something that enables you to move on to the next day.

That is presumptuous of me to say, but I can assure you that it will happen. And with that same kind of reassurance that SCOOP gave everyone in this Chamber, including me, that somehow there was somebody who knew, somebody in control, somebody who would not panic, someone who knew what he was about and was not going to change. That is what is lost in this Senate.

But the memory of SCOOP JACKSON's ability to convey that to us is bound to produce that kind of leadership in some of the other senior Members of this body. It is amazing how this place works. This place works in the people, who were unable to rise to occasions, when a void is created, tend to rise to it.

I am confident that, although SCOOP JACKSON can never be replaced, SCOOP JACKSON's example for 40 years in American politics and since 1954 in this body will have a lasting effect, not just in his memory in what it will actually produce in other men and women in this Chamber, who might not, if SCOOP were still here, be the ones to personally rise to the occasion, but in his absence, and knowing that he would have, will force them to.

Someone once said that an institution is little more than a lengthened shadow of a man. This institution is little more than the lengthened shadow of a great man like SCOOP JACKSON who served here.

My sympathies go to the Jackson family. But let me tell you, he left a legacy that can do nothing but benefit this body and this country.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, the tragic death of our dear friend and colleague, Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON, leaves an enormous void not only in this body but also in the leadership of the Nation. For more than 40 years, SCOOP JACKSON—

for six terms in the House and then for some 30 years in the Senate—provided the Nation distinguished and outstanding service and leadership which placed him in the very forefront of America's public figures.

SCOOP, as we all know and heard from him on occasion, was the son of immigrant parents, who came to this country from Norway. He was enormously proud of that heritage and what it meant to him and what it has meant to this country.

He was an effective and early leader in so many fields of our national public life: the environment, educational opportunity, efforts to protect our people from poverty and from disease and from poor housing, civil rights here at home, human rights abroad, strong champion of the independent State of Israel, a forceful spokesman on national security policy, the leader on energy issues, the list goes on and on and on.

But above and beyond all of those specific achievements, I think SCOOP JACKSON's impact on the Senate as an institution and his impact on the political system of this country was perhaps his greatest public legacy.

SCOOP JACKSON never sacrificed the means to achieve an end. He had an understanding of what democracy entailed, a respect for those who differed with his views, a firm commitment to his own judgments and values, and an appreciation that this democratic system, which we have fashioned in this country over the last 200 years, is the most significant political achievement men and women have been able to accomplish anywhere at any time.

His whole life was marked by quality—quality in his thought, quality in the example he set by how he conducted himself, and quality in how he treated others. He acted toward others with respect and reflected dignity and integrity in his every action. He was committed to underscoring the differences that exist between free societies and those which have tragically and unfortunately fallen under totalitarian rule.

He gave virtually all of his adult life to public service. He believed it was the highest calling and he recognized that unless men and women of quality and ability are prepared to commit themselves to such a life, the body politic will suffer as a consequence. Those of us who were fortunate enough to have served with him, to have benefited from his wisdom and from his experience, from the kindness with which he treated

each and every one of us, know that we have lost a dear and valued friend.

I join with my colleagues in expressing our very deepest sorrow on his passing and expressing our sympathies to his dedicated wife, Helen, their two children, to the other family members, and to his many friends.

I hope we all take some comfort from the example which he set, some comfort from what he meant in this body as truly one of its outstanding leaders in this generation, and some comfort from what he meant to the Nation.

America, and indeed free people everywhere, are the better because of the contributions which SCOP JACKSON made. And those of us who were fortunate enough to have been touched personally by his friendship will miss him deeply.

Mr. SASSER. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today not only in mourning the loss of a statesman, but in farewell and in respectful tribute to a friend of humankind, HENRY M. JACKSON.

For Senator JACKSON was, above all, a man committed to the causes of peace and freedom.

His complex views are best expressed in his own words. Allow me to quote Senator JACKSON with regard to his clear vision of the task he set for himself:

In truth, the future holds only two eventual alternatives: atomic war, a war made hideous beyond imagination by the new destroyers of men and all their words, or atomic peace, a peace made rich beyond imagination by the power of modern science and technology freed for peaceful tasks. I would not presume for an instant to predict that the Soviet rulers will be willing to join with us and the other nations of the free world in a plan for carrying on a world-wide crusade against hunger and disease and human squalor. I see nothing in the conduct of the new Soviet regime which would make for confidence on this score.

Yet, I cannot believe that our Nation must be deterred from subscribing to a noble goal simply because our adversaries may continue to act ignobly.

Those words were not uttered last week. They are among the first recorded remarks that HENRY JACKSON made as a Senator. He made them on May 1, 1953. Yet they are as timely today as they were more than 30 years ago.

Those words accompanied the introduction of a resolution in which Senator JACKSON called upon the "peoples of the world to join in a great moral crusade for peace and freedom."

Mr. President, none has served better than our respected colleague and valued friend, HENRY JACKSON, in that crusade which is, indeed, both great and moral.

It was the balance and precision in his logic, combined with his passion for peace, that moved so many of us to rely on HENRY JACKSON's counsel when it came to matters of national defense and security of the free world.

We will miss his counsel, perhaps painfully.

Senator JACKSON never wavered in his conviction that a safe and secure and peaceful world could be achieved. He held that conviction when he came to the Senate in 1953. He carried it with him to the end.

I know, as we continue our duties to the people of the United States, that we will always be able to use the life and career of HENRY JACKSON as an example.

The respectful tone of the many tributes that followed his death indicate that much of America asks, too, that we remember his splendid example. Among those tributes are editorials from a number of newspapers in my State of Tennessee, a State that SCOOP JACKSON knew well, that he campaigned across; a State where the people admired him and respected him and held him in great affection.

I ask unanimous consent that a few of these editorials be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, it is written in Ecclesiastes:

A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death, than the day of birth.

It is better to go to a house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting.

For this is the end of all men.

And so it is, too, the end of life of that champion, that champion of small people, of little people, a champion in the cause of freedom, a champion in the cause of peace. HENRY JACKSON leaves us with his good name and his honorable life to remember and to carry with us always.

JACKSON, STATESMAN

HENRY M. JACKSON was a man of his times, bridging the political generations from Roosevelt to Reagan in a style that left both the Congress and the people of the United States the better.

JACKSON was an open and candid advocate who could disagree so amiably he won many a congressional debate by totally disarming his opposing colleagues. His peers respected his personal integrity and his skill at compromise.

His refusal to become encamped with liberals or conservatives except on an issue-by-issue basis earned him a special reverence from people for whom those labels offer little distinction.

A Democrat who sought the Presidency and was his party's national chairman, he would have been immediately and warmly welcomed by the GOP as well, should he have declared a change of political alliance.

Achievements by JACKSON were of the highest order. He authored important environmental protection and energy conservation law, was a stalwart for a strong national defense and was a tireless supporter of the efforts of Soviet Jews to emigrate to freedom. His death last week took the Nation by surprise and left it deeply saddened.

The Senator from Washington State will continue to reap recognition for his diversity of knowledge and his dedication to principle far into the future. He deserves that recognition and the title, American statesman, as few others have. So long, SCOOP.



[From the Oak Ridger (Tenn.), Sept. 6, 1983]

ONE OF OUR SOUNDEST, FAIREST, MOST HONEST SENATORS LOST

The U.S. Senate is being hard hit. First there were announcements by veteran Senators Howard Baker, of Tennessee, and John Tower, of Texas, that they will not seek reelection next year.

Now comes the totally unexpected sudden death of Senator HENRY JACKSON of Washington and the august body has lost or is about to lose three superior Members, the variations in their partisan affiliations and political philosophies (although in many important respects they are not great) notwithstanding.

Senator JACKSON was a pillar of so many things the Senate needs, integrity perhaps most of all. But he was also a very sensitive yet also very realistic lawmaker. Without being a warmonger or indulging in breast-beating rhetoric, he favored a strong national defense and a tough policy in dealing with our adversaries, most of all Russia. He was, the very afternoon before his fatal heart attack, indignant in reaction to the shooting down of the South Korean passenger jetliner and who knows in what way his concern about this incident may have aggravated his physical condition.

But Senator JACKSON was also a most compassionate Senator, feeling deeply the need for fair domestic programs, particularly as they offered assistance and hope to the less fortunate among us—the poor, the minorities, who often are one and the same. He was an uncompromising supporter of legislation and policies to guarantee equal rights to all citizens.

Senator JACKSON was also a strong supporter of a vigorous program of energy development, including nuclear power. But, as he was able to do on so many issues, he was able to balance his energy advocacy with his equivalent advocacy of laws and policies that properly protect the environment.

We think of him locally most of all for his longtime knowledgeable support of intelligent, positive nuclear policies and programs. Granted, like Senator Baker, he was from a State where there is a large nuclear establishment—the Department of Energy facilities at Richland, Wash., which along with Oak Ridge and Los Alamos, N. Mex. was one of the three cities literally created by the World War II Manhattan Project. (It is increasingly necessary to repeat this history. It cannot be assumed any longer that the majority of readers remember, or have ever really learned.) Still, his intelligent support for nuclear programs was based on much more than just blind backing of anything that provides jobs within his constituency.

And that is why his loss will be so keenly felt throughout the nuclear community. For, as a Senator from a nuclear industry State and, therefore, also as one of the earliest and longest serving members of the former Joint House-Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, he became personally most knowledgeable about nuclear matters. And, to be knowledgeable of nuclear, in so many instances, is also to be supportive.

So much of the opposition to intelligent, orderly nuclear development comes from fear and paranoia based on ignorance. The hope can be that his replacement will also be a nuclear sophisticate and, therefore, equally as effectively supportive as “SCOOP” JACKSON (he earned that nickname because of his reliability, while a teenager, as a newsboy), surely one of the Nation’s best-liked and most-respected Senators ever.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to add my words to those of my colleagues in praise of, and in homage to our late colleague from the State of Washington—Senator HENRY M. “SCOOP” JACKSON.

The Senate, the people of Michigan, of Washington State, and of all the United States have lost a true public servant and an individual who worked tirelessly, both in and out of the limelight, in their best interests and in ways they may never realize fully.

It was a privilege and an honor to work with SCOOP JACKSON during the past 5 years that I have been in the Senate. It was a privilege and an honor to learn from him, to gain the benefits of his counsel and to share both mutual victories and mutual defeats.

On some issues, he was an occasional opponent who taught me a great deal about the substance and process of legislation. On others, he was an ally whose support was both welcome and effective in helping to carry the day.

SCOOP JACKSON was a passionate loyalist to this country, to its working people, to its environment and to its national security. He was a staunch defender of American interests and he worked with all of his soul to strengthen our Nation militarily,

economically, and socially. He cared about the socioeconomic strength of our people as well as for their military welfare.

SCOOP's concerns for the basic human rights of individuals went beyond our borders. He was a passionate defender of such liberties throughout the world. He spent a great deal of his life, for example, trying to loosen the totalitarian grip of the Soviet Union on its own citizens and on the citizens of her neighbors.

One of the most accurate descriptions I have heard about SCOOP I think bears repeating today. He knew who were America's friends, and he knew who were her adversaries. To SCOOP JACKSON, certain aspects of this bewilderingly complex world were straightforward and simple. His activities on behalf of keeping America strong to deter the Soviets, of protecting Israel's existence in a hostile world, and of promoting human rights are eloquent testimony to the correctness of SCOOP's assessment of the basic verities of the international scene.

Recent world events have only reinforced the basic correctness of SCOOP's assessment.

The Senate and the Nation have lost a unique individual, whose mastery of the national security field and whose singular understanding of historical perspectives were unparalleled on the Armed Services Committee and in this body as a whole. SCOOP was the best student of history on our committee, and always articulated the historical implications of events, their strategic significance, and the patterns of history into which they fell. These insights will be missed sorely, since they often are overlooked in the daily press of legislative business.

SCOOP JACKSON also was an elected public servant who rose above partisan politics when it came to those issues he thought were of supreme national importance—foreign and defense policy. SCOOP believed deeply that we should have a truly bipartisan national security policy, and that there should be cooperation rather than confrontation between the legislative and executive branches of the Government on such matters. In this way, he believed our country would be stronger, and he was an eloquent spokesman for, and practitioner of, such bipartisanship, in private as well as in public.

Some talk about bipartisan foreign policy; he lived it and he breathed it, even when it was not easy for him to do so. His

bipartisanship on national security gained him great respect in Washington and in other world capitals.

Finally, Mr. President, I would be remiss, having mentioned SCOOP JACKSON's achievement as a public servant if I did not briefly talk about him as the person he was. His individual and personal characteristics had an important influence on his public service. Mr. President, SCOOP JACKSON was a nice guy who cared a lot about the little people of this world, whether the person was a disadvantaged citizen of his own State, an unemployed worker in Alabama, or an oppressed citizen of the Soviet Union. Deep down, that caring is probably the best explanation for why SCOOP JACKSON acted and voted as he did in elected office.

There are many people in politics who think they are concerned about little people. Some hold these views as a matter of intellectual exercise, and even cast their votes in reflection of these calculations, but fall short in the way they personally think about and treat the people with whom they come into contact.

There are those who vote with both their heads and their hearts and SCOOP JACKSON was one of those. You could see it in the way he cared on a personal basis about the people who would be affected in their daily lives by the bills and the programs Congress enacted. You could see it in the considerate way that he treated all those around him, whether the person was a constituent or a member of his staff or a stranger.

You could see it in the special affection that his staff held for him, a model that each of us should seek to emulate. And you could see it in the special love that he had for Helen and their children—how proud he would have been of them last week.

SCOOP JACKSON respected people as individuals, with individual feelings and needs. To him, they were not just nameless, faceless voters, members of interest groups, or staffers. It showed in the way he treated them personally and in the way they returned that consideration with the support, loyalty, and devotion that such treatment deserved. That is another lesson that SCOOP's life of public service can teach us.

Mr. President, SCOOP JACKSON was a friend and I will always remember the acts of sensitivity and generosity and kindness that he showed to me. He was a public servant whose contri-

butions to his country and history will be long remembered and appreciated.

I will miss him. The Senate will miss him. The Nation is poorer for his passing and we are all richer for having known him.

Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, I remember, at SCOOP JACKSON'S funeral, that Senator Magnuson made the remark that SCOOP seemed indestructible and it was just inconceivable to him that he could have passed away. I must say I have the same sense, as I stand here now, that there is something surreal about what we are doing, that if we just wait long enough, he will walk through those doors and be part of us once more.

For someone like me, who has only been here a short time, less than 5 years, and for those of us particularly who serve on the Energy Committee, he was a part of this place in a way that most people would not understand. The fact that the institution keeps on going without him does seem very strange.

There are and will always be great men and women who will serve in the U.S. Senate. That has always been referred to and there is no reason to assume that will not continue. We always hear talk of the lions of the Senate, those people who achieve a certain greatness. I do not think anyone doubts that SCOOP JACKSON will be included in that category. We have seen all kinds of speeches, editorials, and commentaries which point that out.

But that was not what brought so many of us to Washington for the funeral. It is not what has caused the emotion which we have heard on the floor today.

The legislative greatness of an individual is all well and good, and certainly, SCOOP is in the forefront of that kind of achievement. But I think what people should get out of today's tributes is SCOOP JACKSON, the human being. I do not know how you portray that, how you get people to understand the feelings that we all had for him. But let me just mention a few of the attributes that I shall remember.

One, he was unaffected. This is not a body which lends itself to that kind of characteristic. Anyone who has presided over this body and seen us all in action will realize that we all come to this institution with enormous capacity to dwell on one's self-importance. SCOOP was not that kind of person. Despite all the national acclaim, the Presidential races, and so on, he re-

mained essentially an unaffected human being. That is what drew so many of us to him.

He was also very gentle. If you talk to any of those people who worked with him on his staff—and Tom Foley, I thought, did a remarkable job in his eulogy at the funeral—there is a loyalty to SCOOP the human being from those he had capacity over. That is not always the case. A lot of those who serve in government may have very good staffs and may have a certain respect for them, but the kind of love that existed for SCOOP JACKSON by those who worked for him I think was eloquent testimony to the kind of gentle person that he was.

Third, I was very impressed, when I went to Everett, Wash., and stood on the lawn in front of his house, by the clear sense of roots that he had. He had traveled the world and done all that one does in public life, but Everett, Wash., was his home. He was committed to that place, committed to that house, to his family, and I think that speaks well for him.

How many people come to Washington and never leave, even though their public life may be over, and forget where they came from, in many ways try to put that behind them? SCOOP was not that kind, and his loyalty to Everett speaks volumes for the loyalty that he had to other people.

Finally, let me mention just one other attribute. That is his concern for junior Members. There are a lot of great people in the U.S. Senate, and for someone who comes in new, it takes a while to get to know everybody. Eventually it does indeed take place.

I served on the Energy Committee under SCOOP, and those of us who did will always appreciate his outreach to those of us who were new and inexperienced and somewhat timid as we came into this body; that he was a great national figure, we were new Members, but that never made any difference. And the fact that he did what he did for us to make us comfortable, to make us feel conversant in the matters of the committee will always be appreciated.

He and I worked hard on the Alaska lands bill, the one thing that I was probably more involved with him in than any other piece of legislation. That bill is a tribute to not only his commitment to the environment but his capacity to get people to work together. I hope it is clear that in addition to the respect that we had for SCOOP, we also had an affection for him.

And it is simply not a case of a colleague but one to whom love flowed.

Now that his example of simple humanity is gone, I hope that his absence will be so felt by all of us that it will set a tone, it will set a standard; that sensing the absence of that kind of humanity we will all change a bit and try to be as much as we can be loyal to the example that SCOOP gave to us.

I hope that when my time in this body is complete, I will have a small percentage of the respect and affection that SCOOP enjoyed from all of us.

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, today is one of great sadness and of commemoration as we reflect upon the life and accomplishments of our friend and magnificent colleague, SCOOP JACKSON. Our hearts are with Helen Jackson and Peter, and Anna Marie, and these bonds of caring and love will always continue.

The Senate in recent years has seen enormous change. Over 60 Senators have served less than a decade. As an institution, we have been relying very heavily on a diminishing handful of giants in the Senate—those special individuals whose length of service and particularly gifted leadership provided much of the guiding force of the Senate as a whole.

SCOOP JACKSON in a institutional sense must be seen in that light. No Senator provided more vitality or legislative leadership to the Senate than SCOOP JACKSON. His passing is an enormous loss to the Senate, to the Nation, and to every person on this Earth who loves freedom and is part of the struggle for human justice. The civilized world has lost one of its greatest champions.

SCOOP JACKSON was a Senator in the fullest sense. He was a forceful advocate, a prodigious worker, an independent thinker, a warm and giving colleague, a person of ideas, creative force, and convictions, a man with an enveloping concern for people and their well-being, a person wonderfully free of pretense and selfishness or mean motive and, as has been said by others, a Senator of truly historic legislative accomplishments.

Those fortunate enough to have served with SCOOP have been enriched by his good humor, his absolute integrity, his vision, and his example of excellence in a lifetime of devoted service to the public interest.

It is appropriate that a beautiful flower with many blossoms should now stand where SCOOP JACKSON did his work on the Senate floor. He was always in bloom—with ideas, legislative initiatives, a kind word, a friendly pat on the arm, a bright vision of life where things could be changed for the better.

While the words of tribute spoken here today honor SCOOP and his memory, the greatest honor will come in the months and the years ahead when his continuing influence upon us, his example and teaching, causes us to strive harder and with a clearer vision for those national and international goals that he championed.

Finally, a special word must be said about the enormous contribution made by SCOOP's family in sharing him so unselfishly with the public needs that were the focus of his worklife. Hours, months, literally years of time away from home, away from family were required for SCOOP to carry out his public interest duties as he saw them. His recent tiring trip to China comes to mind.

Every hour of his time away from home and family was a gift of caring and concern by the Jackson family to people everywhere. The good work he accomplished late in the evenings on the Senate floor, on weekends with constituents in Washington, or in offering hope and help to others in need in this country and abroad was only possible because a loving and supportive family was willing to share so generously its husband and father. No family can give a more precious gift to their fellow citizens and none have given more than the Jackson family. So all these tributes today are family tributes. The good deeds remembered are those of the family and not a man alone. This family and that man shall always be a living part of the Senate.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, it is difficult for us to think of the Senate without SCOOP JACKSON. As we stand in this Chamber, each of us have a flood of individual memories of him. To each of us he was truly a titan of the Senate. If one was in a legislative battle, one's chances of success were immeasurably improved if SCOOP JACKSON was on your side. When he signed on in a legislative effort, he did not just sign on his signature; he signed on to work, to produce, to succeed, and that is what he did.

I can remember we worked together about 2 years ago on a piece of legislation to protect the identities of CIA agents—in other words, to forbid the disclosure by some, whether they were Americans or foreigners, of the identities of these agents. There were many leading Members of this Senate who were opposed to that legislation for very legitimate reasons. But we worked together and succeeded in the passage of that legislation. We succeeded because SCOOP JACKSON individually but-tunholed Senator after Senator to persuade them to our cause. It took work; it took effort; but that was the kind of person he was.

Yet, for all his legislative skills and all his dedication to a cause, everything HENRY JACKSON approached he did with a sense of fairplay. He never took unfair advantage of an opponent.

Again, let me give a personal illustration. I can remember being on the opposite side of SCOOP on a defense issue. In the course of my remarks, I made a serious factual error and was open to the opportunity for somebody to make me look very foolish. SCOOP had that opportunity, but he refused to seize it. Instead, he came up to me afterward and said, "I think you erred on that." Clearly, I had, but he did not say it publicly, and for that I am eternally grateful.

SCOOP JACKSON radiated enthusiasm. He was constantly innovative and original, open to new ideas. He was full of pep; he was constantly alive.

It seemed that both physically and in his character, he emphasized sturdiness. He was sturdy, like his State. He was sturdy in his positions, sturdy in his loyalties, sturdy in his judgments.

For all of us who have served here with him, his loss is a great blow. To his family, we extend our sympathies and our gratitude for giving this wonderful man to our Nation.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. President, the loss of Senator HENRY JACKSON has been a great tragedy—both for the Nation and to all of us who knew him personally.

Much has been written and said about this great loss to the country and to the U.S. Senate, and much of it with more eloquence than I could hope to achieve in paying tribute to one of the true giants of our time.

In the time that I have served in this great body, I came to know SCOOP as a warm friend—a friend in the best sense of the word.

Senator JACKSON was a product of the spirit of America. He came to Capitol Hill nurtured by the values and ideals of the people of his great State of Washington. He never forgot the grand purpose and responsibility which was entrusted to him. He never betrayed that trust. It would not have been in SCOOP's nature.

He was a man who brought the ideals of his home to this floor; who used them to serve the people of his State and the people of this Nation, and to inspire his friends and colleagues. He has left a permanent imprint on this body and on everyone who knew him.

Before I came to the Senate, I was touched by SCOOP's compassion. After the 1980 election, many congressional staffers on this side of the aisle were left unemployed. Senator JACKSON took it upon himself to help many of these people find new positions. That kind of intervention is extraordinary in this place and is only one example of the man's integrity and feeling for his fellow man.

When I did reach Washington, I was deeply and singularly impressed with Senator JACKSON's sense of feeling for the people of this country, and of his sound sense of reason about what needed to be done to assure that our people remained free to pursue their destiny.

He brought that sense of reason and those values to debates here. And he understood the profound wisdom of consistency to those values—never wavering in the face of expedient political advantage.

SCOOP was, above all else, a patriot first. He understood the need for a strong America—both in defense and in the compassion we must show to the less fortunate among us. He understood, from firsthand experience, the circumstances of history that bind us to the people of Israel. In fact, despite his reputation as an advocate of a strong defense, he clearly understood the need for military prowess to be complemented by American humanitarianism.

The loss of Senator HENRY JACKSON has left a great void in this country—and in this Chamber. His conscience and dedication will be sorely missed and not easily replaced.

My sincerest condolences go out to his beloved wife, Helen, his two children, Anna Marie and Peter, and other family members during this time of mourning. They should be comforted by the knowledge that HENRY JACKSON was a man dedicated to his God, his country, and his fellow man.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, the Nation and, indeed, the free world suffered a grievous loss on the first day of this month when our colleague and friend, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, was suddenly taken from us.

SCOOP JACKSON, as we all fondly referred to him, was not only one of the giants of the Senate but also a giant of Western civilization. His passing has left a void in this Chamber that we can ill afford. The people of the State of Washington have lost a great representative, the U.S. Senate has lost a respected leader and Western civilization has lost a superlative defender of freedom.

The record will show, Mr. President, that Senator JACKSON spent more than half his life in elected public service. For 42 years, Senator JACKSON unselfishly and devotedly served his Nation in the Congress of the United States with honor, dignity, and everlasting credit. He was in truth a humanitarian and a patriot, dedicating his career to improve society and the common defense. HENRY JACKSON was the very embodiment of the truth that the greatest fulfillment of man's talents and abilities are realized through meaningful service to his Nation and fellow man.

Senator JACKSON's influence was not, of course, confined to the Senate nor to the shores of this Nation. He was well known throughout the globe for his steadfast efforts to maintain the security of the free world and was widely respected by those who worked to preserve, promote, and perpetuate peace among all nations. Senator JACKSON knew war and abhorred it, but he knew it could only be avoided if our Nation and our allies remained powerful, both militarily and economically. We are a better, stronger Nation because of his service. Western civilization is improved because of his wisdom.

Senator JACKSON left a mark in this body which will of itself be a lasting monument to his service and his life. His presence will be sorely missed, but his record will shine brightly in the annals of the Senate. We can all learn from what he did.

It was my high privilege to know and serve with HENRY JACKSON. I admired him as a man and as a public servant. I was grateful for his friendship.

I share the sorrow, the sorrow that is common to all who knew Senator JACKSON and worked with him. On behalf of the people of Alabama, I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Jackson and the Jackson family.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, it is difficult for us to put into words all that SCOOP meant, not only to us but to the country, to those who knew him personally, and to those who knew of him.

Some will remember SCOOP as an articulate spokesman for the defense of a strong and secure America, as a man who would not knuckle under, as a man who with his vision, clarity, and perception of a great America, stood up for its defense and security.

Others of us remember SCOOP for being at the forefront of pointing out the need for developing a sound national energy policy. He was one of the first to forecast OPEC and to warn us about the dangers we would face with energy shortages and high energy prices.

But I will remember SCOOP for his ability to balance competing and often controversial interests.

For example, while, on the one hand, he worked hard to protect our wilderness areas, he also emphasized the economic importance of developing our natural resources.

While he spoke out on the need for American military strength, he also showed a strong commitment to meeting social needs and providing those services. In many ways SCOOP stood for years where the country and the Democratic Party now appear to be heading.

Others will remember SCOOP for his compassion for the average, ordinary American—the man on the street, the housewife, the schoolteacher, or whatever. That compassion guided him whenever he spoke before this body on a piece of legislation.

Finally, I remember SCOOP as a northwesterner. We northwesterners, just as those in other parts of the country, pride ourselves on many qualities. One of them is just good, basic, down-to-earth commonsense.

I am sure everyone in the country feels that he or she has some monopoly on commonsense. I must tell you, Mr. President, that I cannot think of anyone who epitomized that quality more than SCOOP JACKSON.

I say that because many times in the last several years, I sought out SCOOP for his advice—on energy policy, defense policy, and other issues. And always, his basic northwestern commonsense came through.

There is no one in this body whose advice I valued more and whose counsel I sought and respected more than SCOOP.

Let me just close, Mr. President, with one little anecdote.

A few years ago, I was on an airplane with SCOOP and several other Members of the Senate. As usual, most occupants on the airplane were talking and there was much conviviality. But not SCOOP. He was sitting in a seat off on the side, with a stack of newspapers that must have been 3 feet high. SCOOP had not had a chance to read those newspapers because of previous engagements. He sat there and read each newspaper, front page, page 2, page 3, to the end, and made little notation marks. While everyone else was just talking and having a good time, there was SCOOP working. I watched him. That was a long trip, but he stayed there until he finished every one of those newspapers.

That incident is only a small slice of SCOOP, but in another sense, I think it is a very large slice. It showed the devotion and dedication he felt for his job, his State, and his country.

Mr. President, I and the people of Montana share the sorrow felt by the people of the State of Washington and his family.

There are many qualities of SCOOP that we will remember. His memory will serve us very well, and I call on each of us to try to remember SCOOP every day. If we do that, we will be a better body, we will pass better legislation, and we will be a better country.

I will miss SCOOP. He was the dean of the Pacific Northwest and his voice of experience is a great loss for all of us.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, the sudden and shocking death of our colleague, Senator JACKSON, will leave a void in the Senate and in the Nation's public service that will not easily be filled.

Senator JACKSON's career exemplified the best of American public life. His vision of our society was informed by a recognition that ours is a Nation which can flourish only when the public weal—the common weal—takes precedence over private desire. His principled and unchanging defense of a domestic order that served the powerless and poor as well as the strong and wealthy derived from the same goals which our Nation's founding document expounds: “* * * to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity * * * .”

Senator JACKSON was staunch and unyielding in his defense of our liberties, both at home and abroad. He was dedicated to the proposition that a strong Military Establishment can be reconciled with a strong defense of human rights. His was the effort that brought human rights concerns home to the Soviet Union, when he championed the right to free emigration from Communist as well as non-Communist nations. Even more importantly, he understood that a strong national defense and an effective foreign policy can only rest on the base of a prosperous and just society at home.

Senator JACKSON's vision and concern were broad and far-sighted; his insights were not circumscribed by contemporary preoccupations. He was one of the earliest environmentalists in the Senate. Beginning in the 1960's, he made it a matter of priority to actively seek legislation to protect the natural resources in which our continent is so rich. He took an early and leading role in recognizing the constraints imposed by the enormous energy needs of our highly industrialized society, long before the first oil embargo brought that lesson home to the rest of the country.

His service spanned some of the most momentous decades in our Nation's history, and some of the most contentious. Senator JACKSON was not afraid to stand up for American principles against the witchhunting of the fifties; neither did he abandon his justified skepticism of the aims of the Soviet Union during the days of détente. His principles remained unaltered by the fashionable priorities of the times through which he lived. He alined himself neither with left nor right

but rather pursued a course which his conscience told him served the best interests of his country.

Our Nation was fortunate to enlist and maintain Senator JACKSON in the ranks of its public servants for almost 43 years. He rose above empty rhetorical partisanship when the interests of his country demanded it, and he never surrendered his belief in the principles of the political party to which he gave his allegiance. His presence in this Chamber was a reminder to all of us that public service is an honorable calling.

Senator JACKSON's place can never be filled. His passing can only be mourned.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, because he was such a towering figure in the political and public life of our Nation for such a long time, the passing of U.S. Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON had been duly noted and his life fittingly eulogized by many. This has been altogether appropriate and due a great American.

For my part, however, although I, too, recognize his genius and greatness, I would prefer to dwell on his great humanity, his innate kindness and charity.

When I came to Washington almost 3 years ago, upon my election to this legislative body, I had occasion to meet HENRY JACKSON and, subsequently, to talk with him many times, mostly when we frequented the Senate gym together in the late afternoon.

Invariably, he was gracious and helpful in every way possible. In endeavoring to learn as quickly as possible the many great traditions of the U.S. Senate, I often turned to Senator JACKSON and always found him not only willing but eager to assist me.

His more than 30 years as a Member of the U.S. Senate earned him great deference from his colleagues, but he never sought it. Despite his great experience and his many achievements, Senator JACKSON was a truly humble man.

Those who have eulogized him and praised him for a life spent in the service of his fellow Americans have called him many things—a great patriot, a great American, a great Senator. All of this is deserved and I join in these encomiums.

I am proud to have had the opportunity to know him and to be able to say that he was my friend.

Mr. President, I feel honored to have an opportunity to join as a Member of this body in paying tribute to the career of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, just as I feel honored to have had an opportunity to get to know SCOOP JACKSON and to number him as a friend during the course of the past 2½ years.

My own association with Senator JACKSON began in the Senate gymnasium where I met him shortly after coming here in January 1981. Our visits to the Senate gym about 5:30 p.m. on many days during the week provided a leisurely opportunity to discuss a wide variety of matters.

Before coming to the Senate, I had read and heard about Senator JACKSON and had great admiration for his long and distinguished career. One of the great opportunities in being a Member of the Senate is the chance to meet with and talk to and get to know on a closer basis some of our national heroes.

That was the contact that I first had with Senator JACKSON early in 1981. When I found him so readily accessible in the Senate gym, I then took the occasion to read about him in the many biographies and accounts of his illustrious career and then would inform him about which I had read. I would discuss with him some of the "inside" stories, which he was glad to talk about in a very convivial and jovial way.

I had occasion once to talk to him about the challenge that he made to Senator McCarthy shortly after Senator JACKSON came to the Senate in January 1953, and the difficulty of the challenge to the position of Senator McCarthy at that time. SCOOP JACKSON relished that discussion and conversation.

I had occasion to talk to him about the widely publicized incident where President-elect Nixon had offered him the job of Secretary of Defense, and the President-elect had called him to a meeting in Washington when he was in Hawaii, and how he might have accepted the offer had he been in Washington. SCOOP thought it over from that distance and later decided against taking the position because he thought he could make a greater contribution in the Senate, notwithstanding Senator JACKSON's keen interest in the position during the Vietnam war and the Soviet menace.

I also had occasion to talk to him about many of the topics of concern in the pending business. I had a discussion with him one day about the Mideast. He was a fountainhead of knowledge, having acquired it in trips, conversations, reading

and extensive experience, and he pointed out how important Egypt is in the Arab world because 45 percent of the entire Arab world lives in Egypt.

He was a tower of strength in defense. One day in the Russell Building, where we were two floors apart, he asked if I had a few minutes to talk over the Jackson-Warner resolution which was competing with the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution on the freeze. He had 50 cosponsors, he told me on that day, and was looking for a 51st to push his resolution over the top.

He outlined all the reasons why there ought to be arms reduction before there is arms control. I told him I would think about cosponsoring. I eventually signed onto the Jackson-Warner resolution and was well aware it was as much Senator JACKSON's personality as it was the force of his argument which led to my agreement to cosponsor contrary to my customary practice of waiting to cosponsor as so much is learned at a later stage, and sometimes early cosponsorship is a position that one does not wish to stay with. I was willing to sign on after that kind of contact and that kind of expression I had with Senator JACKSON.

It was a stirring ceremony last Wednesday, a week ago today, in Everett, Wash., when so many Members of the U.S. Senate flew out, a 7 a.m. departure, and returned at midnight, to pay tribute to him at the funeral service.

There was an unusual atmosphere, both in the chapel when the eulogies were presented and later at the reception where Mrs. Jackson was so cordial and so hospitable, standing up under the strain in such magnificent style, as were SCOOP's daughter and son; but there was a feeling that Senator JACKSON had lived a full and complete life and had contributed so much. No one is ready to die at any age, let alone at 71, at the height of his physical prowess as it appeared to those of us who saw him frequently at the Senate gym.

There was a glow to the entire affair, notwithstanding there was a funeral, just as there was a glow to his life and career, and I feel honored to be able to stand on this floor today and pay tribute to a man we have known, for the opportunity I had to know, Senator JACKSON.

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I believe that Edmund Burke had a man like HENRY JACKSON in mind when he observed that elected representatives should stand on their judgment, not on

their willingness to shift with the public passions of the moment. Well, for over three decades in the Senate, SCOOP JACKSON stood on his judgment—and that judgment added vast dimensions to our own understanding of steadfastness, courage, and wisdom.

If there was one objective that SCOOP constantly pursued during his years of public service, it was the cause of human rights. He was a man whose every action was rooted in the bedrock belief that freedom is the most valuable heritage of all Americans; a treasure not to be hoarded or locked away, but one to be shared generously with others less fortunate.

SCOOP contributed much to that which is the very best of America. A quintessential American, he was a man for all the world—a true champion of the homeless and oppressed. Millions of people in Israel, Western Europe, and throughout the free world owe their liberty to this man from Washington State—a man who had the towering strength to be tough, tender, and kind.

SCOOP JACKSON believed that America had to be both generous and strong. He believed in a country compassionate enough to care for its jobless and hungry at home and powerful enough to defend its vital interests and moral principles abroad.

We all bear a heavier burden because of SCOOP's death.

But we all have a clearer vision of our duty because of his life.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, during the Labor Day recess, the U.S. Senate lost one of its most respected elder statesmen with the death on September 1 of Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON of the State of Washington.

I was extremely saddened to learn of Senator JACKSON's death. He was a man of integrity and sincere patriotism who served his Nation well during his 42 years in Congress.

But even more so, I feel a sense of personal loss. Two generations of my family have served with HENRY JACKSON in the Congress. My father, Lyle H. Boren, served with Senator JACKSON for 6 years in the House of Representatives during the time both of them were Congressmen, and Senator JACKSON was especially helpful to me when I first came to the Senate.

Senator JACKSON was an extremely influential Senator whose work and interests covered a broad spectrum of important

issues. Through the political know-how, experience and authority which came from key committee assignments, Senator JACKSON was able to exert his influence in many important areas.

He continually advocated a strong American Military Establishment and supported the cause of national security while, at the same time, being a strong, consistent supporter of Israel and of the plight of the Soviet Jews.

He always attributed his concern for Jewish issues to his mother's strong views against anti-Semitism, and his own experiences, shortly after World War II, in visiting the Buchenwald concentration camp.

Along with former Representative Charles Vanik of Ohio, Senator JACKSON led the fight for the Jackson-Vanik amendment which prohibited most-favored-nation trading status for countries that restrict emigration. This was an effort aimed at the Soviets' refusal to allow Jews to emigrate.

Just prior to his death, Senator JACKSON had been on a fact-finding trip to the People's Republic of China and, upon his return, held a news conference to denounce the downing of the Korean airliner by the Soviets as an "act of barbarism."

At the time of his death, Senator JACKSON was the ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, supporting a more aggressive U.S. role in world affairs. As early as the 1960's, Senator JACKSON was known as a specialist in defense, whose major emphasis was a consistent and deeply held mistrust of the Soviets.

As the former chairman of the Senate Energy Committee, Senator JACKSON supported development of hydroelectric power, and he served for 30 years as a member of the old Joint Atomic Energy Committee, promoting nuclear power. At the same time, he was one of the first Members of Congress to speak out about the importance of protecting our Nation's environment.

HENRY JACKSON was a man of complete integrity who never used public office to promote any gain for himself. He held to the worthwhile, old-fashioned idea that public office is a public trust. The Nation would be far better off if the Nation had more leaders that had the courage and integrity exemplified by the life of HENRY JACKSON.

His presence in this body, and in the Nation, will be greatly missed. I know that all my colleagues join me in expressing sympathy to Mrs. Jackson and to the family.

Mr. JEPSEN. Mr. President, on September 1, 1983, the Senate lost one of its most distinguished and valued Members.

One would not be exaggerating in saying that an era has passed in this body and in the country as a result of his untimely passing.

Senator SCOOP JACKSON has left a gap in our ranks that will never be filled.

For the past 4½ years, it has been my privilege to serve with Senator JACKSON on the Senate Armed Services Committee and observe firsthand his effective style of developing broad-based support for his positions without sacrificing the integrity of those positions.

His Senate work was based on four decades of experience and seasoned with a rare consistency of outlook, tireless hard work, and a very healthy dose of commonsense.

Senator JACKSON established himself as an authority in the foreign policy and defense fields. He never lost sight of the big picture in world affairs. He refused to have any illusions about the Soviet Union's aggressive foreign policy. There was little change in Senator JACKSON's views on defense and foreign policy throughout his 30 years in the U.S. Senate. His integrity and commitment forced him to fight many lonely battles for a strong national defense and a vigorous foreign policy on a bipartisan basis throughout the years.

In his handling of all issues before the Senate, HENRY JACKSON was the epitome of the practical, clear-thinking, and sensitive legislator. May God grant this country leaders who partake of the HENRY JACKSON legacy.

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, we are saddened by today's occasion, but at the same time we are moved and challenged by the example of HENRY M. JACKSON, our colleague and friend. I want to concentrate on that example and recall those specific ways in which SCOOP JACKSON inspired us all.

Senator JACKSON's legislative record is a matter of history and needs no lengthy delineation. It serves as a fitting reminder of the 45 years he spent in public life and particularly his three decades in the Senate.

His tireless work on national security and defense matters will always distinguish the Jackson years during the 1960's and 1970's. Time and time again, he reminded us of the value of national preparedness and the need to keep our country strong.

It strikes me as an irony of history that his death came during the same week that a Korean airliner was downed by the Soviets, a demonstration of the necessity to keep constant vigil even in times of peace. It is appropriate that the President has announced that the next Trident submarine—to be launched on October 15 of this year—will be named the *Henry M. Jackson*.

Senator JACKSON was a friend to the friendless, not only in this country but around the world. Beginning in the stark days after World War II, when he visited the devastation of postwar Europe, he committed himself to the cause of human rights. And it was a distinguished commitment. SCOOP JACKSON was at the front of every movement toward freedom for all people.

It may be that his most cherished project was the series of achievements in environmental protection. Where would this country be today without the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970? And where would that landmark legislation have gone without the firm leadership of SCOOP JACKSON?

Mr. President, at times like this we all think of the personal associations, the friendships, and the private, individual moments we shared with a late colleague. SCOOP JACKSON was my friend. We did not always agree, but we never failed to respect the views of the other.

One reason we shared a common point of view was because we were both from the country. We shared a rural, smalltown background. And when you have that kind of similar past, the result is bound to be a common vision.

HENRY M. JACKSON was a Senator's Senator. He was wedded to this institution probably more than anyone in recent years, and with his departure we have lost the closest possible ally and friend.

Mr. EAST. Mr. President, when our friend and colleague, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, died on September 1, he left a void in the life of the Senate and the Nation. Although I served with him in the Senate for only 3 of the 30 years that

he was here, Senator JACKSON has left an indelible mark on my memory.

Everyone who knew Senator JACKSON enjoyed his good humor and buoyant spirit. We were touched continually by his earnestness and sincerity. And we were impressed always by the depth of his knowledge of, and commitment to, solving the great public policy questions of our time.

I had the opportunity to get to know Senator JACKSON best from my service with him on the Senate Committee on Armed Services, on which he was the ranking minority member. That experience taught me more than I already knew about Senator JACKSON's commitment to the defense of our Nation.

Mr. President, Senator JACKSON once was reported to have said that "the true test of a man is where he stands on national defense." No Member of the Senate can doubt that Senator JACKSON passed that test, time and time again, across the three decades during which he served in the Senate.

Elected to the Senate in 1952, SCOOP JACKSON quickly became a staunch ally of President Eisenhower on defense policy. And he supported the defense posture of President Kennedy. But perhaps the truest test of Senator JACKSON's commitment came during the administration of President Johnson.

Though it eventually became unpopular within his party to do so, Senator JACKSON supported the efforts of President Johnson unwaveringly during the Vietnam war. He became such a symbol of bipartisan support for a strong national defense, in fact, that, in 1968, President-elect Nixon reportedly offered him the post of Secretary of Defense.

Even though he decided to remain in the Senate, Senator JACKSON backed President Nixon's Vietnam policy and served as a major leader in the Senate fight that won approval of the antiballistic missile (ABM) program in 1969.

In 1972 and 1976, Senator JACKSON sought the Democratic nomination for President. He stood out, both times, as the leader of that wing of the Democratic Party that believes that a strong national defense cannot take second place on any list of the Nation's priorities.

The central conviction that animated Senator JACKSON's overall view of national defense issues was that the Soviet Union is the implacable enemy of the United States and the

entire free world. Indeed, it is fitting that Senator JACKSON's last public statement was his strong denunciation of the brutal attack of the Soviet Union on a civilian airliner, Korean Air Lines flight 007, just hours before his death.

Senator JACKSON's distrust of the Soviets led him to take a tough stance on the question of nuclear arms reduction negotiations and treaties. He is credited with having strengthened the SALT I treaty through the use of his strong influence with the Nixon administration's Defense Department. And, during the Carter administration, there can be little doubt that Senator JACKSON was a key force in preventing Senate ratification of the weak and dangerous SALT II treaty.

During the time in which I had the privilege of serving in the Senate with Senator JACKSON, I saw that his commitment to national defense, and his vigorous opposition to the Soviet Union, remained undiminished with the passage of time. Senator JACKSON's steadfast support of President Reagan's program for rebuilding America's military strength has proven to be invaluable as that program has succeeded in winning congressional approval of its major components. Senator JACKSON backed the B-1 bomber. He supported the MX missile. And, most of all, he shared President Reagan's conviction that meaningful Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear arms control can occur only when the United States is bargaining from a position of strength and determination.

Mr. President, I am honored to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. Senator JACKSON rose above party. He rose above ideology. He towered above us all. The Senate is diminished by his passing. And each of us is saddened.

Mr. DANFORTH. Mr. President, as a rule, one should not judge the greatness of an individual from his eulogies. Remembrances amplify goodness and magnify virtue, either to comfort those who live or to provide them with an instructive model of life.

HENRY M. JACKSON is a magnificent exception to this rule, as to so many other commonplaces of our public life. It is our eulogies that will not measure up to the man, and not the reverse. Pages of declamation will not do justice to the goodness of our late colleague, to the clarity and integrity of his mind,

nor to the sparkling innocence of his enthusiasm for politics and public service.

Historians and political scientists, then, should approach remembrances of Senator JACKSON with a standard of judgment radically different from that usually applied to eulogies. We are not telling the half of it. He was better than we can say.

One account of our proceedings took note of the striving for hyperbole in the commemoration of SCOOP JACKSON. The truth is that hyperbole is merely the best we can do.

The most direct measures of a public servant are his accomplishments and the opinion of his constituents. SCOOP JACKSON's accomplishments were monumental. His support for civil rights legislation was vigorous and consistent. He was a champion of the cause of labor. He was the principle legislative architect of our national environmental policies. He played a crucial role on every major issue of energy policy. On questions of national security and military policy, SCOOP JACKSON was among the most influential figures of the 20th century.

His goodness is to account, I believe, for two of the brightest moments in a career in Congress that spanned four decades: His fierce dedication to the cause of human rights in the Soviet Union and his opposition to the malignant excesses of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Today, more than a quarter of a million Soviet Jews live in freedom because of HENRY JACKSON. It was Senator JACKSON who formulated the linkage between American trade with Communist nations and the humanity of their emigration policies. It is a monument to his vision that he created a practical tool of economic leverage in foreign relations.

He joined with Senator Symington of my State and with Senator McClellan in standing up to the evil work of Senator Joseph McCarthy. SCOOP JACKSON, you see, believed in America. Senator McCarthy did not. It was the view of Senator McCarthy—a view that continues to stain our political life—that the great institutions of public life can fall into the hands of villains, that the central challenges of our national existence can be mastered by exposing and destroying evil people who held positions of public trust. Senator McCarthy believed that America is weak. SCOOP JACKSON believed that America is strong. Senator JACKSON believed that Americans must trust the institutions of representative government. He denied that

democracy could be corrupted with ease by a handful of fanatic conspirators.

The judgment of SCOOP JACKSON's constituents, the people of the State of Washington, was thundering. Nobody won elections like HENRY JACKSON won elections. He campaigned for the Presidential nomination of his party in 1972 and in 1976. Journalists enjoy saying that the Senate is populated with people who would like to be President. Ambition was the least of his qualifications for the Nation's highest office. He was capable of serving the American people as their President.

Each of us would treasure the stature enjoyed by Senator JACKSON and the affection and esteem lavished upon him by the people he served. We should put greater store, I suspect, in the personal qualities that enabled him to become a towering figure of national policy and a Senator in whom the people reposed such confidence.

One of those qualities—perhaps the most important—was simple goodness. To those who knew him, his personal goodness was powerfully and immediately apparent. The goodness of his personality came through most often in his sense of humor—gentle, constant, uniquely effervescent. His eyes always twinkled. He seemed always about to smile.

Another of his central qualities was a clear and profound sense of values. He knew that some nations stand for what is good and that some do not. He knew that some nations care if people live or die, and that others could not care less.

Finally, he believed that government is a positive instrument for good. Such a belief is necessary to greatness in any public servant.

The purpose of Senate debate is to settle on particular methods by which to advance the public good. In the most basic sense, we work from an assumption that decisions on public policies make a difference, for better or for worse. SCOOP JACKSON was a daunting figure in debate, a marvelously effective advocate of his view on any matter under discussion. But the true article of his faith was the idea that public service can make a difference for the better.

He was a good person.

He was a brilliant public servant.

He made a difference.

It is one of the greatest honors of my life to have known HENRY M. JACKSON and to have served with him in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, we mourn HENRY JACKSON. But as we do, so we weep for our country as well. For we have lost more than a fine fellow human being. Though HENRY JACKSON was one of us, he was significantly different from the rest of us. He was what most of us would like to be but know in our hearts we are not. To see him at work was to be reminded of Matthew, chapter 7, verse 29, "he taught them as one having authority." All who are in public life, who struggle to exercise power, long for what office and power alone can never give: authority. People listened to HENRY JACKSON because they had learned from long experience he was worth listening to. People would have listened to him even if he had not held the powerful positions he did.

It behooves us all to remember how HENRY JACKSON gained, indeed how anyone gains, authority. First, he had knowledge—lots of it. He spent more time than most studying and observing. But many bright people work hard at gaining knowledge with little success. They lack the humility that is the prerequisite for all learning. HENRY JACKSON was humble enough intellectually to realize he had a lot to learn, and humble enough personally to associate habitually with people who knew more than he did—people he could and did learn from. Some of the Western World's first scholars found HENRY JACKSON congenial company. HENRY JACKSON was a very good listener.

Second, HENRY JACKSON was a man of right opinion. All the facts in the world will not help a man whose intellectual and moral compass is awry. HENRY JACKSON always knew who the friends—and the enemies of freedom in the world are. His deliberations were anything but sterile. He kept the chief fact of contemporary international life firmly in mind: The Soviet Union is running a ruthless worldwide campaign to take away our freedoms. That campaign will succeed unless we cause it to fail. Time and again Members of the U.S. Senate are pressed by various bureaucracies or constituencies to divert their thoughts and energies from this key consideration. Time and again I have been privileged to see HENRY JACKSON bring the discussion back to the essential point. Ultimately, the gen-

eral public will listen only to those who speak to matters of general importance.

Third, HENRY JACKSON proved again and again that he acted and spoke for the common good. He never played partisan politics with national security. Thus it was that when he spoke or acted, his words and deeds were taken at face value, as the expression of a coherent point of view about what would actually enhance the Nation's security.

Fourth, HENRY JACKSON had the ability to bring his knowledge, his concentration on the essential, and his dedication to the common good to the American people's attention again and again, over a number of years. Of course his seniority helped. But many others have made much less of loftier pulpits. The point here is that, in order to gain HENRY JACKSON's authority, one must demonstrate HENRY JACKSON's qualities not for a day, month, or year, but for a lifetime.

As I pray for HENRY JACKSON's soul, I also pray to God that by His grace the realization of what we have all lost will spur us to imitate HENRY JACKSON, so that the country he loved might enjoy a long and honorable life.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I have the privilege today to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. We knew each other almost a quarter century, from the time of the Democratic National Convention of 1960. He was my closest friend in the Senate, and without him this place will not be the same for me nor, I suspect, will it be for others.

SCOOP JACKSON served his country longer, and many would say better, than any public man of his time. Fashions changed; he did not. This led to much misunderstanding in later years. But he was invincibly good natured about it.

I remember having breakfast with him in Milwaukee during the 1976 Presidential primary campaign. We were watching television. One of the other contenders was protesting that he was a "progressive," not one of those "you-know-whats."

SCOOP smiled, poured a cup of coffee, and remarked: "You know, I may or may not be a liberal, but I am the only person in the campaign willing to call himself one." George F. Will captured this point precisely in his eulogy for our friend when he said:

Because he was magnificently uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, dull persons considered him unexciting. But discerning persons by the millions recognized that his kind of character is as exciting as it is rare. Persons who, under the pressure of fashion, are as flexible as fly rods found JACKSON incomprehensible. They came to the absurd conclusion that he had departed from the liberal tradition.

He was a pioneer of environmentalism. He was the prominent champion of civil rights. He fought for the full domestic agenda and authored legislation that put teeth into U.S. pronouncements on behalf of Jews and others persecuted by the Soviet regime. And if JACKSON's proposals for substantial force reductions had been adopted, we might have had arms limitation agreements that actually limit arms.

The ironic truth is that JACKSON was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face toward adversaries.

SCOOP JACKSON was all of this, but so much more. It is all the more striking, that he considered none of this the accomplishment for which he was most proud. In those special and private moments, SCOOP would reflect on the 1960 campaign and talk of his considerable role. It had been expected he would be John F. Kennedy's running mate, but when Lyndon B. Johnson agreed to accept the nomination, SCOOP cheerfully stepped aside, took on the job of party chairman, and campaigned with all of his great heart.

A Presbyterian, and a 32d degree Mason, he was as proud of his role in electing the Nation's first Roman Catholic President as anything he had ever done.

President Kennedy, I dare to say somehow knew this. The third item in the public papers of John F. Kennedy, following the inaugural address and the greetings to the Soviet leadership, is a transcript of remarks at the meeting of the Democratic National Committee on January 21, 1961. At this meeting, Senator JACKSON stepped down as chairman and his friend and colleague, the new President, recounted this and thanked him for it. The President ended, saying:

So I hope we will all stand up and give a good cheer to SCOOP JACKSON.

So, too, I hope will this Senate, which SCOOP loved as a home, second only to his Everett. His is a life to celebrate, even as we mourn, and as we give the good cheer in our hearts, may the echo linger.

Mr. President, Helen Jackson, herself a person of rare spirit and grace, asked me to speak at the funeral in Everett. I had not much to say, but it meant so very much to be asked. I would like to share with my colleagues who could not be present the words I spoke that day and the eulogy I delivered at the National Presbyterian Church here in Washington, D.C., the night before. My wife Elizabeth and I will find life different and difficult without him.

I ask unanimous consent that these remarks be included at this point in the Record.

EULOGY FOR SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON BY SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN AT THE NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C.

There is an old belief in the Judaic tradition that at any moment in history goodness in the world is preserved by the deeds of 36 just men who do not know that this is the role the Lord has given them. It is a thought to which one has returned these last days. For if it be so, and of course in the large sense it is so, HENRY M. JACKSON was one of those men. There could be no more telling evidence than that this would never have occurred to him.

He lived in the worst of time, the age of the totalitarian state. It fell to him to tell this to his own people, and to the world, and he did so full well knowing that there is a cost for such truth-telling.

But he was a Viking also; and knew the joy of battle. Of all things human, the only emotion he never knew was fear, the only weakness he could never comprehend was the love of ease.

He wanted his country strong because he knew the terrible danger of the age in which we live. Where others lurch from one issue to another with the attention span of a 5-year-old, he sustained this understanding and this vision through five of the most awful decades in the history of mankind. He came onto the national scene at the time of Pearl Harbor and the end of American isolation, although—not then, not now, not ever perhaps—the end of American innocence. He lived until last Thursday; in his last public act shaking his fist at what he called the “barbarous” behavior of the greatest, for now, of the totalitarian powers.

As no man in his time, he understood the need for strength and also the sources of strength.

He wanted a just society; and because of him, the one he leaves behind is far more so than the one into which he was born. He wanted an American example as well as an American presence in the world, and to the extent this is so, much also is owed him.

He was a teacher almost before anything else. The purpose of congressional inquiry, he wrote some two decades ago, was above all, an “educational one.” “As long as we govern with the democratic system,” he said, “the test of government is its acceptance by the people.” For the people cannot intelligently choose where they do not understand, and in his view, the first thing all of us, Senators not least, need to understand is the complexity of things. “If every event had the clarity of Pearl Harbor,” he continued, “policymaking would be

much easier than it is. But as the citizens of Troy also discovered, appearances may be deceiving."

He paid a price for not insisting that things were simple. But he knew this. The American people have paid a price for not entirely wishing to hear him. But he forgave all.

And why not? It was a life of true greatness. In one of his books he quotes Robert Lovett saying:

"We can do whatever we have to do in order to survive and to meet any form of economic and political competition we are likely to face. All this we can do with one proviso: we must be willing to do our best."

For longer than any man of his age, he did just that. A great heart has died, but we are larger because he lived. All he would ask is that as we think now of all he did, we have in mind things yet to be done.



EULOGY FOR SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON BY SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK
MOYNIHAN AT THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EVERETT, WASH.

The poet Yeats wrote once of a man who was "blessed and had the power to bless." HENRY JACKSON was such a person.

To know him and to love him, as generations of men and women in American public life have done, is to have been touched by that abounding grace which he brought to the affairs of the Republic. He never took, he only gave; and he never stopped giving.

His was a Viking heart, a questing soul, yet gentle, gallant, generous. This too, he could impart. To know him was to be changed by him.

He lived in the worst of times; the age that saw the ideas and institutions of freedom challenged throughout the world, and displaced in much of it by the totalitarian state. For on to half a century, it fell to HENRY JACKSON to tell this to his people, and to the world. He knew well enough that this was not always welcome news. The more then did he know that it was we who would have to impart it, for the Lord had given him the strength.

To Helen, to Anna Marie, to Peter, wishing in no way to intrude, we would even so say that, as we shared your love of him, we share your loss.

And yet, now it is over; it is a life to celebrate as much as a death to mourn.

The third item in the public papers of John F. Kennedy, after the inaugural address, after the greetings to the Soviet leadership, is a transcript of remarks at the meeting of the Democratic National Committee on January 21, 1961. At this meeting, Senator JACKSON stepped down as chairman of his party, a post he had assumed in order to run the campaign and win the election for his friend and colleague, who now, as President, recounted this and thanked him and ended saying:

"So I hope we will all stand up and give a good cheer to SCOOP JACKSON."

Let us do that in our hearts; and may the echo linger.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, today we are trying to honor the memory of our dear friend, SCOOP JACKSON of Washington. And I know that each of us has tried to put into words the feeling that rest in our hearts.

In my case, and I suspect in the case of many others, it is a feeling of futility when I try to say what SCOOP meant, not just to our country but to me, as a man and as a friend.

He and I came to the Senate at the same time and we were the last two of that class. In all of those years, almost 30, I had occasion to know him probably as well as anybody in the Chamber although, it was never a social friendship as much as it was a working friendship. We served on several committees together including the Interior Committee at one time, the Armed Services Committee for many, many years and the Intelligence Committee for several years. He and I have traveled, at different times, to parts of this world probably that no other Members of the Congress have visited. He gained a knowledge of the philosophy of communism and communism as it is practiced in the countries around this world that has destroyed the freedom of men and, he was never afraid to speak out to explain the terrible truth of this philosophy. He was never one to show any fear when it came to defending our country and our need to be strong. The words that he passed to us on the Armed Services Committee were always respected, and respected highly, because of the knowledge that was behind those words.

It is impossible for me to express completely the feelings I had for SCOOP. It is also impossible for me to relate completely what a great contribution his life was to our country and, indeed, to the people of the world. If we had more Scoop Jacksons scattered around, living in this world would be much safer and freer.

My heartfelt sympathy goes out to the family and, my thanks to the Lord above for having shared him with us for these many years.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in a special tribute to Senator HENRY JACKSON. I can add little to what has already been said. In fact, none of our words can add much to the unique memorial that SCOOP JACKSON built for himself through his life, his work, and his service to the people of this Nation.

To find a true measure of his contributions, we must look not to words but to the life and spirit of the Nation. In his lifetime, and particularly during his years in the Senate, America rose to the status of world superpower and undisputed leader

of what is properly called the free world. No one was more ardent than SCOOP JACKSON in protection of freedom around the world.

In those years, America moved steadily, if slowly at times, toward the founding promise of equality for all persons. Our economy flourished with a prosperity that lifted up millions of families. We became a nation that was committed to dignity for the elderly in retirement and to hope for the young in education and training for their future. We came, too, to an appreciation of the natural wealth of the Nation and the need to protect it from human excesses.

In short, we became a better Nation. Not perfect by any means, but better. We became more sensitive to the needs of individuals, to the power of Government for good or ill and to the interlocking relationships of the modern world.

In all of these changes, both subtle and sudden, there is the imprint of SCOOP JACKSON. But he would never want to be relegated to legend and folk mythology. He was no more saintly or perfect than the Nation and the people he loved. He knew that and it never worried him.

Perhaps that is the most powerful legacy that he leaves to us. He sought to serve, rather than to be served. He was an extraordinary public servant who never placed himself above those he served. I treasure the opportunity and privilege of having worked with him.

Dedicated and devoted, concise and conscientious, SCOOP JACKSON was a leader in every sense of the word. Never patronizing nor condescending, his leadership for the State of Washington and for the Nation was a straightforward commitment to both the principles and the people of America.

Mr. QUAYLE. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in mourning the untimely death of Senator JACKSON. The loss of any colleague is bound to be an occasion for sadness. But when a fellow Senator of the stature of the Senator from Washington is taken from the scene, to that sadness is added an immense sense of loss.

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I had the pleasure of working with and learning from Senator JACKSON. And there was much to be learned. From his wealth of experience and wisdom he provided philosophical insights and

political judgments that always kept the security of our Nation first and foremost.

When one considers the issue of arms control with which he was so closely associated, the contributions made by Senator JACKSON over the years loom like a giant oak in a field. And like a giant oak that has been felled, his absence from the arms control scene will most certainly be noticed. He leaves a void of experience and wise counsel that can never be filled.

As we mourn his passing, it is well that we recall his many achievements and ponder the various legacies he has left to us. Any review of his record on national security issues reveals a consistency of support for the security of this Nation that was never fazed by the antimilitary fads of post-Korea in the 1950's, Vietnam in the 1960's, détente in the 1970's, and the nuclear freeze today. His course was steady throughout, and his voice and vote equally steady.

Mr. President, that constancy of purpose is one legacy from the Senator from Washington we ought to cherish and emulate. I am confident he would want it so. To do less would diminish the immense contributions Senator JACKSON has made to this country throughout his illustrious career of public service.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, with the passing last week of Senator HENRY JACKSON, this Nation has lost one of its true patriots. A man who devoted his entire life to his country with a selflessness rarely seen. He will live on through the acts of goodness he has performed and in the hearts of those who cherish his memory.

We, in the Senate, from all parts of the political spectrum have praised Senator JACKSON since his death. To properly honor our late friend and colleague, we must rededicate ourselves to the strengthening of the defense of the United States. We must continue the fight that SCOOP had fought through his illustrious career.

The cold reality of the day is that deterrence of Soviet aggression is no longer assured. As I have heard SCOOP say time and time again, the Soviets are continuing to move farther ahead of the United States in every static and dynamic indicator of the strategic balance, and in every measure of relative strength in the critical areas of Central Europe, the Western Pacific, the Middle East and South Asia. Unless the adverse

military trends of past years are reversed, and action taken to establish credible U.S. military presence in these regions, Soviet adventurism should be expected to increase, further impacting on vital United States and Western interests. SCOOP often perceived the future in terms of the past. Never in history has it happened that a nation achieved superiority in all significant weapons categories without seeking to translate it at some point into foreign policy benefit.

SCOOP is a personal friend. On a number of occasions he gave me personal advice on how to be a better Senator and how to serve my constituents better. He went out of his way for me. In the process, I gained inestimable respect and friendship for him. SCOOP was not only a giant in the Senate he was a true friend. There are so few people who rise to the highest levels of esteem among their colleagues. SCOOP accomplished this. I will miss him. My deepest and heartfelt sympathy are with his surviving wife and children.

It has been an honor to have served with SCOOP. I would like to offer the following prayer in memory of Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON:

A PRAYER FOR OUR COUNTRY

Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of peace. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace and its advocate in the council of nations. May contentment reign within its borders, health and happiness within its homes. Strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellowship among the inhabitants of all lands. Plant virtue in every soul and may the love of Thy name hallow every heart. Praised by Thou, O Lord, giver of peace.

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, it was my extreme privilege to serve with Senator HENRY JACKSON during 13 of his 31 years in the Senate. And I can say from personal experience that a man more dedicated to public service never entered these doors.

Looking back over the course of his life, people marvel that the same SCOOP JACKSON who upbraided Joseph McCarthy and company for their red-baiting tactics also came down harder on the Soviet Union than most Members of this body, particularly where its emigration policies were concerned. But really,

when you think about it, in both cases the same principle was at stake, that of individual liberty versus unreasoning official persecution. Principles were what SCOOP JACKSON paid allegiance to, not labels. At various times and on various issues, he was called a hawk, a liberal, a conservative, and a Communist. He refused to be hemmed in by any such characterization. "I don't worry about ideologies," he said.

What Senator JACKSON did worry about was striking a balance between all extremes, a balance that served the best interests of all Americans, and not just a special interest or two. When I came to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee in 1977, he had been its chairman for 15 years. He never ceased his search for the correct balance between conservation and development of our natural resources. He spearheaded the National Environmental Protection Act and when the 96th Congress came to be known as the energy Congress, it did so largely because of his leadership. He had a major hand in fashioning every bit of energy legislation now on the books. His hard work and devotion have benefited us all.

There are many more adjectives and anecdotes that could be used in a tribute to SCOOP JACKSON. But the surest testament to a man's greatness is the vacuum left by his passing. In SCOOP's case, that vacuum is felt not just by his family, to whom I extend my deep regrets, but also by his colleagues, his constituents, and the country as a whole. It will not soon be filled.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. President, for over 40 years, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON represented the citizens of Washington State in the House and Senate of the United States. However, his ability and stature were such that he was a national Senator in the truest sense of the word.

As far as I am concerned, SCOOP JACKSON represented all of America. He stood for the things that most of us want from our elected Representatives: purpose, honesty, integrity, as well as social compassion, conservation of our natural resources, and a realistic view of our foreign policy and national defense obligations.

In addition, he was a consummate legislator, with an outstanding comprehension of the intricate workings of our National Government. He knew how to enact legislation and had

a deep understanding of the major issues that come before this body.

While serving for many years as a Member of the House of Representatives, I was familiar with Senator JACKSON, and during the time I have been in the Senate, I have had the opportunity to know him well. He was a great Senator; one of the giants of the latter part of the 20th century. His loss diminishes this body, as well as our Nation. Therefore, I believe the best we can do is strive to emulate the tradition and memory he leaves us, of excellence in public service.

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, SCOOP JACKSON had a long career in the Senate and, thus, one could give a long speech extolling his remarkable skills. But volumes of words really cannot add to a public record that speaks eloquently for itself.

I have served in the Senate for almost 15 years. Within that period of time and, hence, from my own experience, SCOOP JACKSON was most certainly the single most effective Member of the Senate. Whatever cause he espoused became a cause with which to reckon. When SCOOP JACKSON spoke, the Senate listened. When SCOOP JACKSON was for a particular amendment, that amendment took on added significance.

No one else in the Senate had his energy, his dedication, his sagacity, his prestige.

The dictionary defines the word "unique" as "being without a like or equal." That was SCOOP JACKSON.

Mr. ABDNOR. Mr. President, three characteristics stand out particularly in my memories of Senator HENRY JACKSON.

First of all, you always knew where he was coming from. He was straightforward in his dealings, never saying one thing to your face and another behind your back.

Second, he always took the time to talk, to learn, to consider the issues.

Third, if he agreed with you on a goal, he spared no effort to help you reach that goal.

These are characteristics I prize in any association; characteristics I have tried to follow throughout my life.

I will never forget the fact that the day I was sworn into the Senate, HENRY and Helen JACKSON took time from their busy schedule and stopped by my reception to wish me well. I am

sure they had many, many places to go, but they made time for a new Republican Senator from South Dakota.

SCOOP JACKSON and I agreed on many issues; we disagreed on others. But SCOOP JACKSON never hedged and you knew that before he made a judgment—even if you disagreed with that judgment—he had done his best to acquire all the facts. He always heard you out and rightly expected to receive the same consideration.

If he agreed with you on a goal, it did not matter if you were a Republican or a Democrat, he plunged headlong into helping you reach that goal. HENRY JACKSON helped me on any number of occasions with the same industry and enthusiasm he would muster for colleagues on his side of the aisle. It was the good of the country which remained uppermost of his goals, as it should be for all of us.

The Senate is diminished by the death of HENRY JACKSON, but he left all of us with a legacy of integrity, honor, industry, good will, and purpose which—if emulated—will make all of us better Senators.

We all will miss him, and the best tribute we can pay him is to follow his inspiring example.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it can be said of few Senators that their passing left a void that could not be filled. But it is no exaggeration to make that statement about my friend SCOOP JACKSON. He was just not another Senator, he was *primus inter pares*, first among equals in the Senate.

How do you measure the loss of one man? Consider what would not have happened without SCOOP JACKSON in the Senate. How much longer would the witch-hunting days of Joe McCarthy have gone on without SCOOP JACKSON's role in the Army-McCarthy hearings? How many more years would it have taken to achieve passage of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969? Would we have an Environmental Protection Agency today?

Measured in human terms, there are hundreds of thousands of former Soviet Jews now residing around the world thanks to the efforts of Senator JACKSON and his 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment to the trade bill. The Indian Education Act, the Alaskan Native Claims Act, the North Cascades and Redwood Park bills, all were products of his commitment to public service.

These achievements aside, we can only speculate about what future events would have been changed because of the prestige and wisdom SCOOP brought to the Senate. Perhaps that is our greatest loss—not having him here when we face the next international crisis, the next domestic problem area—that is when we will really miss him.

The Nation has too few individuals of SCOOP JACKSON's integrity and leadership that we can afford their loss. Too few. And new replacements are not born every year or every decade. That rare combination of good sense, legislative brilliance, and personal commitment is not found in normal circumstances.

In the 26 years I have served in the Senate I know of no Senator whom I respected more than SCOOP JACKSON. No one could disagree more vigorously or effectively than SCOOP without being disagreeable. I know that from longstanding personal experience. For 15 years I waged battle with SCOOP over the supersonic transport plane which he championed and I strongly opposed. Yet not once did I ever find that his commitment to the SST ever influenced our personal working relationship.

While we may have disagreed on issues such as the funding for certain military weapons, SCOOP was always fair, friendly, and straightforward. And when he was on your side you knew you had an ally as strong and influential as could be found. We all wanted SCOOP on our side in a fight.

It is impossible to say how history will treat any man or woman. But I suspect that there is more than a little room in the history books for HENRY JACKSON. A generation of Democrats call themselves Jackson Democrats patterned after his staunch commitment to our national defense and his equally strong vision of human rights, environmental protection, energy, labor, and consumer affairs. He had a distinct view of the world based on the belief that democracy must be defended vigilantly at home and abroad. That is why he was the champion of civil rights causes, of the labor movement, of the consumer and the environment. That is why he fought so tirelessly for preserving the rights of individuals against more powerful economic interests.

And perhaps that is why he felt so strongly about preserving the power and influence of the United States abroad—to guarantee that the average citizen here in the United States would

continue to have the basic freedoms so often found wanting in other countries.

His was a constant commitment to the basic values of our society, the tenants of democracy, the protection of law, rights of the individual, and the old-fashioned American sense of fair play.

All Americans and those of us in the Senate could pay no higher tribute to SCOOP JACKSON than to adhere to his concept of how democracy works.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, it is difficult for all of us today to accept that our beloved friend and colleague, SCOOP JACKSON, will not be back amongst us again. I served with SCOOP for only a short time in the Senate, but I knew him as a friend of many years.

I organized a function in New Jersey in 1970 on behalf of his senatorial campaign and was astounded at how many people felt a kinship with him and wanted to be of help. Among those who wanted to be included that night were the Panovs, internationally famous ballet dancers, who felt SCOOP JACKSON was the person most responsible for their freedom from the Soviet Union. Isaac Stern, world-renowned violinist, insisted on being there to honor SCOOP as well. This exceptional leader with his great human qualities, was respected and admired by all who came in contact with him.

He and I shared many common interests: Human rights for all oppressed people, emigration for the Jews of the Soviet Union; the security for Israel; and our party's credo to promote individual opportunity and ease the way for the disadvantaged. We worked together to address some of these issues.

When I came to the Senate at the beginning of this year, Mr. President, I instinctively looked to SCOOP JACKSON for advice and guidance. His response was immediate, his counsel wise, and his judgment correct as I look back over his recommendations. My respect for him as a private citizen and friend took on new dimensions when I joined him as a colleague. To me, he represented the ideal of the Senate. Mr. President, our Nation is immensely poorer for the loss of this great Senator and his absence here is marked as this fall session gets underway. There is a gloom and sadness that permeates these Halls. His long tenure provided continuity, perspective, and direction

essential in the development of a complex society in a rapidly changing environment. His political wisdom over many years enabled him to influence the laws and policies so essential to our lives today. His contribution in the fields of energy, natural resources, environment, foreign policy, defense, matched perfectly his concern for the individual, civil rights, civil liberties, criminal justice, and programs to help all people strive toward newer horizons.

I express my profound sympathies to Helen, his devoted wife, and their two children, Anna Marie and Peter. I will remember always with pride that he was one of us, a great Senator, but more a great American and great human being. His example will serve as a permanent reminder to all of the standards of public service to which we must aspire.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, Martin Luther once suggested that our spiritual mettle is truly tested in those situations brimming with controversy; those situations when the "crowd" is running like a herd away from their responsibilities. HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON was not one to run away from difficult choices.

I was traveling when I heard the news of SCOOP's untimely passing. Typically, the first reports were sketchy and the slow construction of the story prolonged those first gnawing feelings of personal sadness and shock. Gradually I came to feel the full force of the loss of SCOOP JACKSON. He will be greatly missed in this body because of his skills as a legislator; skills tempered over 42 years in service to the U.S. Congress, 30 of those years being spent in the U.S. Senate. SCOOP JACKSON will also be missed because he carried with him a distinct "presence" which brought smiles to the faces of visiting children and urged laughter in the midst of all this seriousness that we often create in this city. How many times have we witnessed SCOOP's great ability to relax a harried tourist in the Halls of the Senate? We will cherish those moments when he ordered, so to speak, a vacationer to join him on a "Senators Only" elevator or subway. What delightful surprise he often created.

Think for a moment about the trust SCOOP has left us. What was the motivation that energized him? What gave him the fearlessness to speak out against totalitarianism? Why would SCOOP JACKSON consistently call us back to realism regarding the Soviet Union? What principle supports the Jackson-Vanik

amendment, which prohibited most-favored-nation status for countries that restrict emigration? SCOOP JACKSON was a dynamic spokesman for realism in defense and foreign affairs, not because he was coldly bellicose and insensitive to the delicate tensions of the world situation. Far from it. He valued principled action in this body because he possessed a profound regard for human rights in the international community.

When we contemplate the work of HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON in the future each of us will remember favorite traits: his wit, charm, intelligence, and perseverance. Others outside this body will doubtless recall his service to the Nation, his principled stands on issues, and his sensitivity to those with whom he disagreed. Beyond those memories stands one special trait for which SCOOP will be remembered by a very special group of people. He will always be remembered as a tireless and fearless advocate for dissidents in the Soviet bloc. There are people in the West today, emigrants who suffered great cruelties behind the Iron Curtain, whose exodus can be traced to the energies of HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON. "No greater love has any man than to lay down his life for another." For decades SCOOP JACKSON laid down his energies, his talents, his time, his health, and his hope for a group of people which was dispossessed. Their lives are our trust.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, Senator JACKSON was a good friend of mine for over 24 years. I met him for the first time at my predecessor's funeral, Senator Langer, in 1959. That was the beginning of a long and close working relationship that lasted until the time of his death.

I served with Senator JACKSON on the Senate Interior Committee for many years. There he gave his strong support for North Dakota's Garrison project. The people of my State will never forget his hard work in getting Garrison authorized. He was an effective and able legislator.

SCOOP's death is a great loss to all of us. The Nation will miss him. And, I will miss him, both on the Senate floor, and, if I may say so, in the Senate gym, where we spent more than a few pleasant hours together.

My family, my staff, and I send our heartfelt sympathy to Helen, the children, and SCOOP's family. I know that they must be very proud of the brilliant legacy he leaves behind. But,

most of all, they can be proud of SCOOP JACKSON—a wonderful husband, a good father, and a fine friend.

Mr. GARN. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to one of the finest, most exemplary Members of this body.

SCOOP JACKSON was more than a colleague. He was a valued friend, a vigorous partner in the causes we shared, and a brilliant and effective opponent in those on which we differed. He was always a gentleman, a man of integrity and one of those Members of the Senate who represent what is most praiseworthy about our system of government.

Forty-four years of service in the Halls of Congress placed SCOOP among the most experienced and knowledgeable Members of the Senate. His judgment was valued and his advice sought by many of us on both sides of the aisle. His death creates a great and permanent void, for he is irreplaceable.

All of us in this Chamber know the burdens of this office to which we were elected. We know the demands of dealing with issues in a sometimes cumbersome, tedious process, and we experience the weight of making decisions that affect, in a direct way, the lives of our fellow citizens, and in some cases, the lives of people throughout the world. One of the things that make all of this worthwhile and even enjoyable is the sense of collegiality we share together as participants in this great democratic process and in this body. Whatever our differences, either in style or in substance, we have a common bond that transcends partisan or philosophical differences. Some observers call it a club; others call it a clique. I consider it to be the natural result of the work we do together in this body, and I believe it helps provide the glue that keeps us together as a governing body despite the occasionally intense disputes we might have over given issues. SCOOP JACKSON was one who best represented that spirit of camaraderie and collegiality, and has contributed to the legacy of the Senate in a real and very personal way because of that. We have lost one of our own. We experience a sense of loss that perhaps only we can fully understand. And we are uniquely saddened, in that sense, by his absence from our midst.

For the past 2 years I have had the added opportunity of serving with SCOOP as a member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. In that capacity, we worked close-

ly on a number of issues dealing with the Smithsonian's role as the curator of the Nation's heritage. I saw, through that association with SCOOP beyond the Senate steps, further evidence of his tireless commitment to public service and constant willingness to give his time and energies unselfishly in the public interest. History will judge SCOOP JACKSON to be among the giants of statesmanship, and a man who affected in a positive way the lives of every person he touched. I will miss him greatly and extend again my sympathies to his wife, Helen, and their two children.

Mrs. HAWKINS. Mr. President, I mourn the passing of a fine and noble man, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. At no other time in this country have we been in such a great need of HENRY's unique combination of qualities that made him such a successful and influential Senator and popular man, as well as "Father of the Year." HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON was tough on issues that needed a strong hand, such as foreign policy and national security, but remained sympathetic and understanding on sensitive domestic matters.

Senator JACKSON was a great man, in part because he had the courage to cross party and ideological lines to do what he felt was right. He was tremendously popular, especially with his Washington constituents, and served in Congress more than 42 years, including 30 in the Senate. Whether you remember him as a staunch supporter of a strong national defense policy, when it was not popular, or the author of the Environmental Protection Act, you will remember him as a man of deep and firm conviction and passionate loyalty to protecting his country.

Mr. President, like the ancient philosopher, we here in the Senate always have our lanterns, out, searching for an honest man. Well, we found one in Senator JACKSON, and when we lost him, we lost one of the brightest lights our country has ever seen. I and all my colleagues will miss him in this Chamber.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, it is with great sadness and a deep sense of respect and honor that I rise to memorialize the senior Senator from Washington, the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON. SCOOP was a dominant figure on the national landscape and a leading statesman in world affairs, who served his

beloved home State for almost 45 years. Through all his years in Congress, first in the House, then in the Senate, SCOOP was firm in his views—a social liberal on most domestic issues, an uncompromising adversary of the Soviet Union on many foreign policy issues, a great friend of Israel, and a man who viewed the protection of our Nation's values through a strong defense as critically important.

Senator JACKSON was not a man to seek recognition for his work and if he were here today, I am certain that he would have preferred to have his record speak for itself. It is well that we remind ourselves, however, of the great accomplishments and above all of the commitment of SCOOP to public service. I have rarely seen, in my years in Congress, such a genuine outpouring of sadness and respect expressed by so many at the passing of a well-known public official as I have in the case of HENRY M. JACKSON.

Mr. President, SCOOP had so many talents and was such a respected figure in the Senate that it would be easy to talk at length about his accomplishments. You could run a minifilibuster just listing SCOOP's interests and the high points of his public career. As chairman of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, however, I would like to take just a moment to highlight some of the important roles Senator JACKSON had as a member of my committee.

SCOOP was appointed to the Government Operations Committee, the predecessor to the Governmental Affairs Committee, on January 13, 1953. He was assigned to Senator Joseph P. McCarthy's Permanent Investigations Subcommittee. SCOOP was an active participant in the hearings the subcommittee held on Communist subversion of Government officials. Eventually he began to question the far-reaching allegations of Communist influence in the State Department and the Armed Forces. His methodical questioning helped lead to the eventual ending of the McCarthy hearings.

Senator JACKSON was an active participant in the Governmental Affairs Committee's hearings and legislative activities over the years. He was vitally interested in national defense matters and his efforts, in large measure, prompted the creation of the National Security Staffing and Operations Subcommittee in 1962. The subcommittee, under Senator JACKSON's leadership, conducted one of the most comprehensive

series of oversight hearings ever held on the national security operations of the U.S. Government. In later years, this subcommittee investigated and reported to the Senate on numerous national security and defense matters including the Atlantic Alliance, the Warsaw Pact and its role in Soviet bloc affairs, and staffing problems in the U.S. State Department. In all of these matters, SCOOP's leadership was evident.

Senator JACKSON was always interested in the Government reorganization proposals which came before the Governmental Affairs Committee. He was actively involved in the efforts to create a Department of Transportation in the mid-1960's and took a leadership role in developing several compromises which lead to the enactment of legislation to create the new department. He was one of the Members who fought hard to insure that the National Transportation Safety Board would be an independent part of the Department so it would be free to conduct unbiased investigations of safety violations and air and rail crashes. His expertise contributed substantially to the passage of the Energy Reorganization Act in 1977 and his interest in energy matters continued on the committee in its reviews of nuclear proliferation problems and energy shortages.

While he was always interested and involved in the work of our committee, he seldom made his views known in a flashy or pretentious way. He was so respected that he was able to help develop compromises which insured the passage of important legislation. Members on both sides of the aisle depended on him for advice and listened with respect to his views.

Mr. President, I think I can speak for the entire committee when I say that we will sorely miss SCOOP JACKSON as a member not only of the Senate but also of the Governmental Affairs Committee. Committees are truly the workhorses of the Senate and his devotion to our committee and his long service have added immeasurably to its ability to fulfill the oversight and legislative duties entrusted to it. The importance of the Senate to the character of our Republic has been built upon traditions formed by countless Senators over the decades. In his almost 45 years, SCOOP has had a big part in forming those traditions. My sincerest condolences go out to his wife, Helen, and his two children, Anna Marie and Peter.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the sudden death of our friend, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, has removed one of this Nation's

strongest and most effective voices for freedom and compassionate government. I had the privilege of serving with Senator JACKSON for nearly 23 of his 30 years in the Senate, and knew him as a man of boundless imagination and energy, strong principle, and great vision for the future of his country. Within the Senate, he had earned the respect and admiration of all who served with him, and was truly one of the Senate's greatest internal leaders. The Senate as an institution cannot replace a man such as Senator JACKSON, and I know that all who serve here now will keenly feel his loss for years to come.

We were friends, too, before either he or I were Senators as we used to play touch football with the Kennedy brothers at Volta Place, Georgetown.

Senator JACKSON was best known for his advocacy of a strong American defense policy. While he and I sometimes differed on the most effective means of achieving this goal, there was no doubt in my mind that SCOOP JACKSON was singularly knowledgeable on defense issues, and his towering mastery of this area was borne out time and time again during the Senate's consideration of defense bills. Clearly Senator JACKSON favored a strong America, but his vision was one that emphasized the strength of our people and of our economy as much as our military strength. Few national leaders over the past 30 years understood as well as Senator JACKSON that a nation adequately armed, with full employment, and a healthy, well-educated people is best able to withstand the challenges from outside.

Senator JACKSON's legislative legacy clearly reflects his vision of a strong America. As chairman of the Senate Interior Committee during the 1970's, he developed what was really the first environmental agenda for the country. He was the main force behind the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act, one of the first symbols of the Government's awareness of the need for environmental protection. He used his powerful chairmanship to work for legislation regulating land use and strip mining, and creating parks and wilderness areas. Much of the progress that has taken place in the environmental field can be directly attributable to SCOOP JACKSON's personal involvement with key legislation coming out of his Interior Committee.

National energy policy is another major area which required strong leadership and vision over the past decade, and Senator JACKSON was a driving force behind congressional policy in this area. As a 30-year member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee and later as a ranking Democrat on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, SCOOP JACKSON was a principal figure in the emergence of a national energy policy as well as the architect of major legislation in this area.

SCOOP JACKSON was also a great friend of the working men and women in this country. He, himself, worked for his education and for his hard-won place in Washington State politics, and the people of his State perceived that he had remained close to their needs and values. That humility and interest in other people helped account for the fact that SCOOP JACKSON became the greatest votegetter in his State. Over the course of 12 congressional elections, 6 for the House and 6 more for the Senate, he failed to win at least 55 percent of the vote on just one occasion.

The loss of his 30 years of experience in this body is a great blow to the people of Washington, and one that affects me deeply. From the time I came here in 1961, SCOOP JACKSON offered his counsel and warm friendship. We joined forces on many legislative measures of great importance, and always his leadership and advice were irreplaceable. My wife Nuala joins me in extending our most heartfelt condolences to his widow, Helen, and to his children, Anna Marie and Peter. I know that they will find solace in this time of immeasurable grief from all that HENRY JACKSON did for his country.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the United States and the world has lost a friend with the death of Senator SCOOP JACKSON. His was the voice of reason and leadership in the area of foreign policy and international relations. Throughout his career, Senator JACKSON strived to know the facts and thoroughly understand the world situation. Over the years he provided a steady, wise leadership in foreign policy for Democrats and Republicans alike. In addition, throughout his career, SCOOP earned international respect and affection.

One of the outstanding qualities of SCOOP JACKSON was his foresight and openmindedness. This was his fourth official visit to China to talk to the top Chinese leadership in Beijing. On Saturday, August 27, 1983, Senator JACKSON held what was

to be his last press conference on foreign soil. From the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, China, SCOOP left us with his impressions of his last visit to China.

I recommend to my colleagues that they read carefully, Senator JACKSON's main findings from his visit. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the press conference held by Senator JACKSON in Beijing be printed in the Record.

PRESS CONFERENCE: SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON—SATURDAY, AUGUST 27,
1983, U.S. EMBASSY, BEIJING, CHINA

Senator JACKSON. I have had over 20 hours of discussion with Chinese leaders in Beijing and the Northeast. I have visited several communes, factories, including the large Daqing complex in the Northeast. This is my fourth trip; 1974, 1978, and 1979.

I brought with me on this visit a special letter from President Reagan to Chairman Deng Xiaoping which conveys the importance which the President attaches to Sino-American relations.

Here are my five major impressions from this 2-week visit:

My major finding is that both sides must intensify their consultations, both on matters of common strategic concern and at the bilateral level as well. A good deal of misunderstanding exists on both sides at present and both sides could pay more attention to the rhetoric about each other. The opportunity is now present to expand our relations. I believe we have weathered a very difficult period, but to seize the opportunities before us requires much more frequent discussions on such issues as arms reductions, the strategic triangle, NATO, the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia and Taiwan.

A second observation: the underlying factors which brought our two countries together remain in place. We have an interest in a strong secure independent China which contributes to the peace of the Asia-Pacific region. China now plays an important role in maintaining a global balance of power. China retains an interest in expanding Sino-American relations as a counterbalance against the Soviet Union and as a source of technology.

A third observation: the Taiwan issue continues to complicate our relations with China. The leaders of the People's Republic attach great importance to the reunification of China and their feelings on this issue, in my judgment, should not be underestimated. It is important that both sides fully implement the August 17 communiqué.

Fourth comment: I am impressed by the internal changes in China over the past 4 years. The policies of Chairman Deng and his associates are having a dramatic effect on the economy and I sense an increasing openness to the outside world.

A final observation: Our bilateral relations are at an important stage. President Reagan has made several major decisions to improve relations with China and he is now committed to a one-China policy. The visits of Secretary Weinberger and Foreign Minister Wu, if well planned, can advance our common interests. That concludes my statement. Questions?

QUESTION. In addition to the arms sales to Taiwan issue, what other issues did Minister Deng mention are thorns in our relationship?

Senator JACKSON. I believe that the two major immediate issues are indeed Taiwan and the question of the details on technology transfer. As you know, they are yet to be worked out in depth. However, we have made that strategic decision of going from P to V, meaning that the People's Republic is now in the friendly category as contrasted with the previous rules and regulations. There are other issues, but those are the two big ones as I see it.

I was especially pleased with the Chairman's view of the world and I think—as it relates to the strategic side—I have not detected any change since I talked with him in 1979 on those fundamental points that relate to the strategic balance.

QUESTION. You said in your statement that President Reagan is now committed to a one-China policy. What specifically made you say that?

Senator JACKSON. I was very disturbed when the new administration came to office. I was concerned because the President had made certain statements during the course of the 1980 election. We know, historically speaking, that when Presidents assume authority they have an unusual ability to adjust to reality. I should say that the President has come a long way and I have made this clear to the leaders that in my judgment the President is committed to a one-China policy.

I have talked with Chairman Deng about the letter, which I regret cannot be made public, at least at this time. It expresses a feeling of warmth toward China that the new China News Agency referred to as being pleasing. But the President and his Secretaries of State and Defense are now in agreement, I believe, on Taiwan.

Speaking personally, I want to expedite the ending of the arms sales so that we can at some point indicate when that will come, both from a quantitative and a qualitative standpoint. I want to emphasize that in my view the August 17 communiqué is a long step forward that corroborates what I have just said in terms of a change of policy toward China.

QUESTION. In your discussion about the strategic view, did the question of the Sino-Soviet talks or the forthcoming visit here by a Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister come up? How was it handled?

Senator JACKSON. I did not, or we did not get into any specific situations. But let me state in general terms what I see the current situation to be. For some time now the United States and the People's Republic have certain interests that are parallel. Those interests include a strong and independent China. They include a strong NATO. They, the government, support those two fundamental concepts. The Chinese contribution is enormous because the Soviets have a very large force along their border with China. This ties up a large force that would otherwise be deployed elsewhere in the world. On the strategic side, I see a cooperative American and Chinese adherence to the concept that is as old as time, and that's the doctrine of the balance of power. I see no change in those fundamentals.

Now, you may have problems where we disagree, Middle East, Africa to name some. And I want to emphasize, too, that I expect that there will be an ongoing expression of differences from time to time. But I want those differences to address collateral issues and not strategic issues in which the peace of the world rests in the balance.

QUESTION. Senator, the members of the House Armed Services Committee were here last week, you're here this week, are these visits in any way related to Weinberger's trip here? Do you anticipate that when he comes here there will be discussions initiated by either side about U.S. arms sales to China, either arms or military technology? Thirdly, what would be the congressional reaction to such sales?

Senator JACKSON. May I say that my visit is not related in any manner, shape, or form to the Secretary of Defense visit.

I do believe that Secretary Weinberger's visit is an important one, and I believe a number of useful things can be addressed, especially some of the problems in more detail as pertaining to technology transfer, because technology transfer as you know, is a many-sided issue in which both military application and commercial application can be involved with a given transfer. But I do believe that his visit is important and I think there are opportunities for both countries to exchange ideas. But I wouldn't want to go beyond that because the Secretary will be here the latter part of September.

QUESTION. What will be the congressional reaction to a Reagan administration initiative to start pumping a large-scale military-related technology into China?

Senator JACKSON. I don't see that happening. I think it's a "suppositious" case, an iffy case.

QUESTION. Did the question of trade come up? Sino-U.S. trade has dropped sharply in the last 4 or 5 months. Did Deng say anything about China buying more or wanting to export more to the United States?

Senator JACKSON. We do have an issue on the trade side dealing with wheat and corn. Namely, China is committed to purchase this year 6 million tons and thus far they have only purchased 2.6 million tons of wheat and corn. I am certain, or at least hopeful, that they will adhere to that agreement, and I am hopeful that they will move expeditiously to honor that agreement. Failure to do so could cause new tensions and new problems with the United States.

We are delighted, of course, and we saw evidence, that they are having bumper crops. But that means they will have more cash to buy other things—while I don't want to get parochial about my own State—maybe, airplanes. And they have a very nice balance of payment situation. I think that up until July, China has over 12 billion reserve in foreign currencies. By the end of the year, this reserve is going to be 18 billion. That reserve is not going to last indefinitely, as they inevitably must increase their purchases abroad. They are going to run deficits if they are really investing in new capital, new plant, new equipment.

QUESTION. Did you get the impression that the Chinese believe that Reagan is pursuing a one-China policy or do they still have their doubts?

Senator JACKSON. I can't answer that question adequately. I believe the people that I talked to place substantial credence in that commitment. I pointed out that I am the opposite political party to Mr. Reagan, I didn't campaign for him, my candidate lost but I made the point that a bipartisan American foreign policy is absolutely vital to an American President. I believe that President Reagan is committed to that doctrine.

I have been in Congress long enough to know that an American President cannot be effective in this troubled world unless he can elicit the support

across the political aisle. That has been my position since the days of Roosevelt, Truman, and on down, every American President from both political parties since the 1940's. I have made and emphasized that point with the Chinese leaders and they seemed to respond in a pleased fashion.

QUESTION. Senator, were you asked specifically what the present congressional sentiment was toward the Taiwan Relations Act?

Senator JACKSON. Well, the source of the Taiwan Relations Act is a fact that the nationalists were allies of the United States for a very long period of time, and there continues to this day a residual feeling of support for Taiwan. Americans can be contradictory, you know. On the other hand they say obviously there can only be one China and that policy was established in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972 when Mr. Nixon was President. I think there is torn feelings about a commitment that we made a long time ago when the problem was in the minds of many a bit more simple.

My own personal judgment is that the Congress is moving realistically towards a one-China policy and that means that the two, Taiwan and China, can be reunified peaceably. The strong feelings of the Chennault era, the old China lobby, I see declining very rapidly. But the sentiment toward Taiwan is part of our, I guess, puritan ethic and that is that we made a commitment. Yet we are the only Nation to my knowledge that has any kind of an ambiguous relationship—not in a juridical sense—set up in a way in which no one knows what it means. Sometimes you try and do it that way.

I think the critical thing is that Taiwan is going to exacerbate our relations until we can reach the point where there will be indeed a final resolution on the sale of arms qualitatively and quantitatively. That process is now under way and the August 17 communiqué, of which the administration is a part, makes it very clear that there has to be an ending. As I say, we are going to have to expedite that ending and Chairman Deng's interview with Professor Yang is rather revealing and it is certainly an indication how far the People's Republic has been willing to go to reach an accord.

I believe it can be done. China is not interested in beating Taiwan and it is already beginning to become a Hong Kong any way in terms of trade with the mainland. To China this is an indication of how the market system is working.

QUESTION. Did any question of Hong Kong come up?

Senator JACKSON. No.

QUESTION. In terms of reunification?

Senator JACKSON. No, it did not.

QUESTION. What are the prospects for Premier Zhao going to the United States and the President coming to China?

Senator JACKSON. Well, I think it's very important that the Premier come to the United States after, of course, the visit of the Foreign Minister which is scheduled in October. It is my personal judgment, and I underline personal judgment, that things are improving for that visit and some time after the first of the year, hopefully, the Premier will be reciprocated by the President of the United States. It is important for our relations with one another, but I detected no hostility on that visit and on the other hand I detected an openness and a sense of warmth about what might happen from such a visit.

QUESTION. Do you think then that Premier Zhao will be going this calendar year?

Senator JACKSON. I would hope so. I think it would not be the wisest thing for the President to come over here right in the middle of an election. That's my personal opinion because then the charge will be that he's over here in order to aid his own reelection efforts, and I feel the wise course would be for the Premier to be able to visit the United States sometime in November or December. I would like to see that personally and right now I think things are moving, no decision made, but the movement is favorable.

QUESTION. Would that help the President's reelection?

Senator JACKSON. Well, my recollection of Presidential history which is not necessarily (laughter) ancient, is that you never lose votes; you have a chance of gaining votes when you are dealing especially on issues that affect the peace of the world.

The President, I would assume, and I can't speak for him obviously, would like to come to China on the one hand as we enter into arms agreement on the other with the Soviets. I think the chances of an arms agreement have improved but we have a long way to go. Several weeks ago, I emphasized that I would insist that any SS 20's taken out of Western Europe not be placed adjacent to China because that would put China in a difficult spot. I was pleased that there is some movement in that direction on the part of Mr. Andropov's statement.

QUESTION. Did you discuss this with Mister Deng?

Senator JACKSON. I would rather not get into that area. I am not sure that the Chinese view Mr. Andropov's statement in a totally favorable light. They are interested in it but there could be some catches in it.

QUESTION. I certainly share your view about SS 20's being moved to Eastern Europe. That must have come up.

Senator JACKSON. They were very pleased with the position that I had taken before Andropov's statement. We do have interests that are parallel and an attempt to simply move the threat out of Europe and into Asia pointed at China would violate that fundamental concept of parallelism. I believe that this administration would not be a party to that. I can only convey to you my own views and I personally will take a very strong position on it. That would upset the balance that we have so carefully crafted here between China and the United States that goes to the peace of the world.

QUESTION. Did you get a feeling from Mr. Deng or anyone else that you talked to or did they say outright that they are suspicious about whether or not for political reasons Reagan might be anxious to reach an arms control agreement?

Senator JACKSON. No. No comment on that at all by any of them. They may have their views but we didn't discuss it.

QUESTION. Did they discuss the U.S. pressure on Japan to increase its military spending?

Senator JACKSON. No. But over the years a strong and independent Japan has been part of that balance and I assume that that continues to be the policy because there has been no change in the fundamental elements of the strategic balance as viewed by the Chinese. Japan is a very important part of the balance in the Far East.

QUESTION. You think the Chinese feel that?

Senator JACKSON. Yes, I think they do. Now you get into a degree of strengthening Japan, but I think they realize that they are exposed in the Northeast and one of the conscious views that I came away with from the Northeast is that here is an area that is the industrial heartbeat of China. It is hard to believe that they produce 80 percent of all the lumber that is produced, over half of the oil that is produced. They produce a huge amount of light metals, aluminum and so on—a long list of industrial products that are vital to the security of the area. They are conscious of the history of that area, that Vladivostok until 1856 was indeed a part of China and that whole area was a part of China.

I have noted a special concern, not overtly, but when you ask probing questions. The Northeast is an area that is rich in industrial goods and raw materials that is important for the long haul.

If you don't mind I have really just about come to the end. My voice is going but I don't want to cut anyone off.

QUESTION. The Chinese have said that the latest arms sales to Taiwan violated the August communiqué. Did they bring up that point with you? And what do you sense is the mood in Congress, do you think they will agree to decrease arms substantially in the next few years?

Senator JACKSON. It's not my impression, at least to me, that they have said it violates the August 17 communiqué. The Chinese want to see this thing, the supplying of arms, quantitatively and qualitatively, coming to an end, and they are wondering whether that communiqué is going to be implemented fully. But they support the communiqué; and that Taiwan issue, I want to emphasize, is a pervasive issue as far as Chinese officialdom is concerned.

QUESTION. You mentioned about some hitches being involved in the Andropov statement.

Senator JACKSON. I don't want to go into the specifics on it. But I detect that the Chinese have reservations about the meaning of it. It is not one of those cure-alls for their problems with the Soviet Union by any means. I think it would be wrong to assume that this statement or the forthcoming visit by the Soviet Vice Foreign Minister are some new dramatic moves on the part of the Soviets that would change relations between the Soviet Union and China. That would be a mistaken interpretation, in my personal judgment.

QUESTION. How long did your meeting last and can you tell us anything about the Chairman's health?

Senator JACKSON. Our visit lasted about 2 hours and 10 minutes. He has a marvelous sense of humor. I was kidding him about his smoking. He is 79 and I explained to him that I quit smoking when I was 12 and he thinks smoking is all right, if it's in the hands of the right person. My friend, Senator Jesse Helms, might change his attitude if he learns that the great leader of China supports cigarette smoking. He ought to try to get a testimonial.

But the Chairman, from everything I can see, appears to be in good health. I'm 71 and I hope I'm in that good shape at 79. That is the only way I can answer that. I mean he is sharp and can maintain a sense of humor. I think that means longevity of service to his native country.

QUESTION. Did he suggest in any way that he would like to give up his reigning position and fully retire soon?

Senator JACKSON. I must say I detected no evidence of any desire to retire. That has been bantered around a lot. I invited him to stay at my house in Everett, Wash., when he comes over and he is taking that under advisement. Thank you very much.

Mr. DECONCINI. Mr. President, it is with deep sorrow that I rise today to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to my close friend, the distinguished senior Senator from the great State of Washington, Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON. HENRY JACKSON has ably served his State and the Nation for nearly half a century. He was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1941, where he gained a reputation as a leader who was vitally concerned with the well-being of the public that he served. After serving the people of Washington for 11 years in the House, they elected SCOOP to the U.S. Senate where he worked effectively for the good of his State and all of the country.

The Senate has been diminished by the loss of one of its greatest Members. Senator JACKSON, through his many years here, had in a sense become the essence and the soul of the Senate.

I first met HENRY JACKSON when I was a young precinct committeeman and he was a U.S. Senator and the chairman of the National Democratic Party. I admired him then. As the years passed by and I became more nearly his equal, I got to know him much better, and I admired him even more. I got to know what a kind, considerate, effective, hard-working, competent person he was, how you could always turn to him for help; and, how, because of his patience and understanding, he was always there to assist you whenever he could.

During all of these years, HENRY JACKSON had many friends in Arizona and many strong supporters—people like Chuck Ducey, who was his campaign manager in Arizona in the 1976 Presidential campaign, and Jack and Irene Sarver, who became strong supporters of his. Arizona, like other parts of the country, provided HENRY JACKSON with a legion of believers, because he was the kind of man who inspired that type of following, not only in his home State of Washington, but in diverse States like Arizona, and throughout the country.

There have been many eloquent editorials and articles written about HENRY JACKSON since his death; and I believe the intensity of those articles demonstrates how liked and admired

he was by his colleagues, by the press, and by most people that he came in contact with. The better you knew him, the more you were convinced that he had the essence of greatness, the qualities that make men stand out among their peers, that make certain Senators stand out in the total Senate.

He was not President, although he was more able than many who were. He was in fact the model of what a Senator should be. Through the years, he helped me, as he helped the entire Senate and the entire country in areas of defense, in areas of foreign policy, and in areas of reclamation and water policy. We worked closely on many projects. He was never too busy to help.

HENRY JACKSON was not a vain man; he was not a prima donna who demanded attention. He was not a man of form without substance. He was, in fact, a plain man with extraordinary abilities. He was a patriotic, hard-working, solid, competent American, who put service to his country ahead of most other things in an unassuming manner, and therein lies his greatness.

My wife, Susie, joins me in extending our sincerest condolences to his beloved wife, Helen, his two children, Anna Marie and Peter, and other family members during this time of bereavement. We know that they are comforted by the knowledge that SCOOP JACKSON did his best to serve his God, his country, and his fellow man.

I will miss him. He will be sorely missed in the Senate, but his accomplishments will live on.

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. President, Senator HENRY (SCOOP) JACKSON's death has left a void in the leadership for his State of Washington, the Northwest, the Nation, and the world.

Our loss in the Senate of his great contributions, sage advice, and friendly guidance cannot be replaced.

Many have noted the unique accomplishments of SCOOP JACKSON in the areas of human rights, national security, conservation, and advancement of technology. For my part, I must add my experience with him as a confirmed advocate—in fact—a dedicated mentor that the country's greatness derived from the strength of the American people, the strength of American resources, technology, science, energy, and industry, tempered with thoughtful understanding and compassion for people endowed with loss.

On that SCOOP based his assessment of our Government's actions for our own people and with others throughout the world. I salute that astute judgment and fairness of our departed colleague, Senator HENRY JACKSON.

I shall add that those of us from the Northwest were proud of the JACKSON leadership on issues particularly affecting us. We have lost a man truly a product of the dynamic Northwest.

At Everett, on the day of his funeral, I expressed my sympathy to Helen Jackson and their daughter Anna Marie and son Peter.

Now I wish I had also expressed to them my gratitude for the personal advice and guidance that SCOOP had provided to me. He was generous of his time in helping so many of us.

I do now express my personal thanks and gratefulness for the ready and willing help I have received from our fallen leader.

Farewell, friend and teacher.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the sudden death of Senator JACKSON has brought countless eulogies from colleagues, friends, and admirers. Many of these statements were presented with an eloquence I will not pretend to match. But I would still like to share with my colleagues my feelings about this most extraordinary man.

Senator HENRY JACKSON was elected to Congress the year I was born. From the time I became a student of government, I recognized Senator JACKSON as one of those leaders destined for greatness. By the time I first reached the Senate, his reputation as a leader was unchallenged.

From my early days as one of his colleagues on the Armed Services Committee, I looked to him for his wisdom and advice. And although there were times we found ourselves on opposite sides of an issue, I considered him a mentor during those early days, and constantly went to him for counsel on matters involving the security of our country, in matters involving energy, in matters involving the environment.

Senator JACKSON was a man of conviction. He was invulnerable to the ebb and flow of the political tides. Unwavering consistency was perhaps his greatest strength.

Mr. President, a little earlier, Senator Baucus and others shared personal vignettes involving Senator JACKSON with us. With my colleagues indulgence, I would like to comment on a

couple of my personal experiences with Senator JACKSON that reflect the type of person he was.

When I was first elected in 1974, I was destined to have the least seniority in the U.S. Senate. Yet I recall on election night, when the returns started coming in, the first telephone call I received from outside the State of Vermont was from Senator HENRY JACKSON. He called offering congratulations and he called offering whatever help I might need when I got down to Washington.

I recall it very well, because a photograph I cherish and have in my home in Vermont shows me sitting in the wreckage of the campaign headquarters that night laughing and smiling on the phone. The person on the other end of the line was Senator JACKSON.

I recall he also talked with my parents at that time. During the last 9 years my parents have visited me here in Washington, Senator JACKSON was one of the people who would always see them in the Halls and stop and talk. He would take my parents aside and tell them how well I was doing here, and somehow try to convince them that the future of the Nation rested on my abilities. Now we all know that is far from true, but Senator JACKSON had such a towering reputation, and was so well trusted that even my parents would believe those things coming from him. It was a mark of him not only as a colleague but as a parent himself to take time for that.

I also recall during my first few weeks here when he asked me about my two young sons. He asked why I did not bring them down to the Senate gym. I told him I assumed the rules were such that we could not. He said, "No; I bring my son down there on Saturday mornings. Meet me here at 10 o'clock next Saturday with your boys and we will go to the Senate gym together." At the time, being as new as I was, I would approach that place with a certain amount of trepidation even by myself. With him leading the way, however, I was able to bring my own sons there and enjoy many, many father-son times that I never would have been able to except for the intercession, the kindness, and the concern of SCOOP JACKSON.

I have lost a friend and a trusted confidant. The loss suffered by his wonderful wife, Helen, and his children, Peter and Anna Marie, is even greater. They lost not a national figure, they lost a husband, a father, and a wonderful human being.

To our Nation, the loss of this man of courage and conviction is incalculable. He was a man who was able to reach the center; to bring the right and the left together in this body to refocus our attention and our debate so many times when it was needed.

So I join with my colleagues in expressing my sorrow and my sense of loss for a great man.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Madam President, I also rise to speak in honor of and to eulogize my good friend SCOOP JACKSON. We can all learn a lesson from SCOOP. In 1970, because of his viewpoints on defense and Vietnam, SCOOP JACKSON was not endorsed by his State party as he sought reelection. He thought it was wise not to seek the endorsement at the State convention because there would be such an uproar and there would be so much contention. He and his colleague, Warren Magnuson, thought it would be best not to seek the endorsement of his own party that time.

But he was true to his beliefs, and he was always true and very constant in his beliefs, so in 1970, despite the uproar, despite the fact that he did not have the endorsement of his party, he won by 83.9 percent of the vote, perhaps as high a record as has ever been achieved in a contested election to the U.S. Senate. It was an enormous victory. It was a victory not only for SCOOP JACKSON but also for the idea that constancy and sticking to principle is an important aspect of our lives and certainly was one of the leading foundations of SCOOP JACKSON's life.

I believe the first time I met SCOOP was in Minneapolis, long before I came here to the Senate, when he came to speak to the Jewish community in behalf of the UJA. He spoke very feelingly, telling us how we had to contribute and how we had to be generous. And indeed he was generous himself, Madam President, throughout his lifetime. I do not believe he ever took an honorarium. Whenever he received an honorarium for speaking, he gave it immediately to charity.

He spoke feelingly that evening about the State of Israel and about the Jewish people; to both he was a great friend. I was very moved by him at that time as I have been at subsequent times.

At the end of that meeting, I spoke with some of my friends and told them that because he was running for President—and

I forget which year it was; he ran several times, as we know—that perhaps we should help him financially. I got up and made a speech—and I was at that time the Republican National Committeeman—and said that I could not participate, but then my wife got up and she did. It was indeed a family affair and something that came very much from the heart.

In 1960, he almost became Vice President of this country. As a matter of fact, in reading his biography, I see he was the leading contender and all the press was guessing that he indeed was going to be the Vice Presidential candidate with his friend and colleague, President Kennedy. He did not make it, as we well know. It may have changed a good deal of the history of this country.

But it was without regret, he said later. He said that in the event he had become the Vice Presidential candidate, who knows, the President may well not have been Jack Kennedy but instead perhaps would have been Richard Nixon and who would have known what the course of history would have been in that event.

But he continued on in the service of the Senate without hesitation. Indeed, as my friend and colleague from Pennsylvania, Senator Specter, has mentioned, when SCOOP was asked to be Secretary of Defense by President Nixon, he was in Hawaii at the time. SCOOP was in Hawaii with his ailing sister, his oldest sister.

He was a great man in that regard. As I read about him and as I have listened to him here on the floor and in private conversations, he was a wonderful man with respect to his family for which I also admired him.

One of the most interesting conversations I had with SCOOP JACKSON was when we were considering draft registration. As he began to talk about it, I was a little confused and it took me a few moments to realize that he was talking about his vote for the draft in 1941! He always had this keen sense of history and provided a memory for this institution that we have now lost. It was interesting to get his perceptions in 1981 as it referred back to 1941 and how little times changed in the interim.

His funeral was a sad event, Madam President. As I went and listened to the eulogies given by some of my friends about SCOOP, it was sad to think that he, such a vibrant individual, would no longer be with us.

But after the funeral we went to his home. I must say I was quite interested in going to his home because I have read about it and he had talked to me about it. He talked to me about it and I thought it was quite quaint as he described it. And when I read about it, I got a little different viewpoint. When I saw it, the different viewpoint was confirmed.

When he was a young man and he was trying to make his way, both of his parents were immigrants from Norway—I am the Senator from Minnesota, and I am surprised they did not stop there; most Norwegians did, but they just kept right on going and went to Everett, Wash. But as he grew up the economic circumstances of his family were strained. So as a boy he added to his family's income by delivering newspapers. He delivered papers to the president of the bank, a fellow by the name of Butler, whose brother was the president of Columbia University. This man was indeed the economic titan of the Everett community and apparently gave SCOOP the feeling that he, SCOOP, would not amount to very much in this lifetime.

SCOOP made up his mind that someday he was going to live in that banker's house. Indeed, eventually he bought that banker's house.

As I saw it, it was a lovely place indeed, and reflected the warmth of our colleague and our friend SCOOP JACKSON.

George Will said recently in an article that he was a Jackson Republican. He said there was something other than just Jackson Democrats. There are, indeed, Jackson Republicans and he said he was among them. I find myself also in that group, Madam President. I find that, with this constancy in the area of defense in this Nation, I joined him in that; with his feelings for his fellow human beings, I hope that I have the same strengths that he did in that regard as well.

We will miss SCOOP. We will relish the thoughts and the memories we have of him. He has left an indelible mark on this institution and all who serve it.

Mr. DODD. Madam President, much has already been said this morning, this afternoon, and, of course, over the past several days, as we eulogize our friend and colleague, Senator JACKSON of Washington.

Madam President, I am both saddened and honored to join my colleagues in the Senate this morning to pay tribute to the

memory of one of the most capable and decent Americans ever to serve in this body, HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington.

In a lengthy and distinguished public career, HENRY JACKSON built a record of legislative accomplishment that very few in history could match. His congressional service spanned the administrations of nine American Presidents. It would be difficult to find a piece of energy or national security legislation passed by the Senate during his three decades in this institution that does not display the imprint of his insight and diligence. Henceforth, any history of the U.S. Senate will have no claim to comprehensiveness without a chapter devoted to HENRY JACKSON.

For those of us who served with him, and who knew him, however, the loss of SCOOP JACKSON, the man, will be every bit as grievous as that of Senator JACKSON, the public servant.

In an age of images, SCOOP was the genuine article. There was not anything contrived or fabricated about him. What you saw was what you got. Honesty, patience, conviction, straightforwardness, energy, devotion to his friends, family, and country were his hallmarks.

For me the honor of serving in the Senate with SCOOP JACKSON was a brief one of about 2½ years. But I knew him for 10 times that long. He was a close friend and respected colleague of my father. And as a teenager, I had the opportunity to observe him at close range as a Senate page in the summer of 1961. At least one role he played well has not received the attention it deserves.

SCOOP JACKSON was an outstanding teacher. There was a moment in a touching eulogy delivered by SCOOP's daughter, Anna Marie, that sparked memories for me and, I think, anyone who knew him. Anna Marie recalled a telephone call to her father to check some particulars about the New Deal, as she prepared for a history examination. He gave her the answers and then put them in context by explaining the New Deal in some detail. The phone call, she noted, lasted 2½ hours.

That anecdote, I am sure, has a familiar ring to anyone—whether a high school student, a page, a constituent, or a junior Senator—whoever listened to SCOOP JACKSON explain the intricacies of petroleum marketing or decisionmaking in the Kremlin or environmental protection, or any one of a vari-

ety of other important subjects he understood so well. It was a rare individual who would not benefit immensely from one of SCOOP's impromptu tutorials.

He taught, of course, by example as well as by work. He was one of the hardest workers the Senate has seen. He never took on an issue or attended a hearing unprepared. In the judgment of one political almanac not given to hyperbole, he was "a living refutation of the charge that the Senate no longer has leaders of broad interests and deep knowledge and experience." To anyone who aspires to public service, he was an ideal role model. The Senate will not be quite the same without him, but it is a far better institution for having had the luxury of his presence.

Madam President, I first got to know Senator JACKSON some 22 years ago when I sat on the steps here as a page in this body, just as a couple of our young pages are sitting here this afternoon. Senator JACKSON, along with other distinguished Members of the body, at that time, of course, was engaged in the all-night civil rights debate.

I remember how kind Senator JACKSON was to pages. Pages talk about us, you know. We do not like to admit they do, but they have their thoughts and comments about Members of the Senate. I know we had some choice thoughts and remarks about Members of the body at that time which will never appear in public.

We talked about Senator JACKSON in those days because he was a true human being. He treated us with respect, with kindness, with courtesy. He did not treat us as some servile group that should do his bidding. He was always interested in our welfare, wanting to know how we were doing in school, how we enjoyed the work, whether we had questions about the institution or the legislation pending on the floor.

He was also a good friend of my father. In fact, they were similar in their views, if you will, "Jacksonian Democrats." They felt very strongly about the disadvantaged in our society. They had strong records to support their commitment to those less fortunate. They felt strongly about the security of this country. They would not take a back seat to anyone in doing all that they could to see to it that we were a secure and safe Nation.

Then, of course, to come to this body in January 1981 and become Senator JACKSON's colleague added yet another dimension to the relationship.

We had our arguments and disagreements over points of policy. Not too many weeks ago, only this spring, in fact, we both ended up appearing on a Sunday news show to discuss Central America. I will remember it forever because we disagreed. We debated rather vehemently over how the matters of Central America ought to be handled. I thought afterward that I had been a little too heated, perhaps, in trying to make my points.

Monday morning when I arrived back here, I wrote a note to Senator JACKSON, and I said if I had appeared strident, I wanted to apologize. I wrote that he had been a hero of mine for as many years as I could remember, from those days that I sat in this body as a page. I hoped that I had not done anything that would jeopardize that friendship because of the positions I had taken.

Well, about 24 hours passed, and I was here on the floor. He came over to me, and he said, "Do not ever apologize for having convictions. You and I disagree on this issue, and you were expressing your point of view. There is never any reason for a person to apologize because of strong convictions."

I was not really apologizing for the convictions but for how I had expressed them. But I thought it was so typical of SCOOP JACKSON to say, in effect, that you should not shrink from things that you believed in. Certainly, if there is anything that stands out in my mind about him as a legislator, putting aside his human qualities, it is that he was so constant throughout his public career. Times come and go and moods change in the country. A conservative one day is a progressive the next. But SCOOP JACKSON did not change. He held his views, his perspective, regardless of the shifts in public opinion in this country.

For someone who is relatively new to this body, having only been here 2½ years, and for others who will come here, SCOOP JACKSON serves as a great model of what a Senator ought to be, what a legislator ought to be, what a public servant ought to be.

Putting aside again the specific positions that he held or that others may hold, it was his conviction and it was his sense of purpose which were loved by this body.

Certainly, he will be missed. We all know that. It has been said over and over again. But this institution is a far better institution because we had the luxury of his presence and I am honored to join my colleagues in expressing these thoughts.

Mr. SYMMS. Madam President, I recall when I was first elected to the other body, coming to this city and to the Congress, that one of the first things that happened when we started having some issues that came up was SCOOP JACKSON was always in the front in gathering the delegations from the Pacific Northwest. He was a real guardian of our interests in the Northwest.

I remember how impressed I was in the first meeting we had after having never met him personally. It was in his private office in the Capitol. How well he conducted the meeting. After it was over, I talked with him and told him that I thought we should do it more often, to get our delegation from the Northwest together. We did so after that, and I think it was very helpful to all of us from the Northwest to at least discuss some of those issues that we have a common interest in.

I will always remember Senator JACKSON for his strength of convictions and his willingness to work with many of us. I was a very young Member of the House from a different political party, with many views that were somewhat different than Senator JACKSON's. That made no difference to SCOOP. He welcomed me into that group. I will always cherish that very fond memory. From that time on, we had a very good working relationship.

I was very shocked and saddened by hearing of his sudden death on September 1. At the time, I was in Seoul, Korea. We had all of the other dilemmas that had taken place, with the missing KAL airplane and everything. To add to that the death of Senator JACKSON, it was a disappointing day for all of us in Congress and for all Americans.

There is no question in my mind that Senator JACKSON was one of the most able and experienced Members of Congress, where he served with distinction for 42 years. As the ranking minority member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and a recognized expert on military technology, in my opinion,

he was especially effective in promoting a strong national defense. There is no question in my mind that the military has lost one of its strongest advocates on Capitol Hill and President Reagan has lost one of his most effective allies on a strong defense policy.

As an articulate critic of the Soviet Union, SCOOP JACKSON repeatedly warned that we could not trust the Communists and we must always deal with them from a position of strength. That was a warning that should be obvious and must be heeded in light of their obscene murder of 269 innocent passengers aboard a Korean Air Lines jet 2 weeks ago. A few hours before he died, Senator JACKSON denounced the Kremlin for an "act of barbarism." It was on the news, I might mention, in Seoul, Korea, almost simultaneously with the news of his sudden passing.

Senator JACKSON also recognized the need and was a powerful spokesman for the development of adequate energy resources and, in many ways, he defended the vital interests of his country and the Pacific Northwest.

As I mentioned, on some issues of a partisan philosophical nature, SCOOP and I were on different sides, but we were always friends and I had enormous respect for him. I will miss him. His passing leaves a large void in the Senate that will be hard to fill—particularly I think, for those of us who come from the Pacific Northwest. We will especially miss him in the future.

Madam President, my sincere thoughts and prayers are with his lovely wife, Helen, and the family. I know that we shall miss him here in the Senate, but he will certainly be missed by those who were close and loved him also.

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I rise to express, with the greatest feeling of humility and compassion, my thoughts about our distinguished colleague, the late senior Senator from Washington, SCOOP JACKSON. In the days since his death, SCOOP JACKSON has been called a statesman, a hero, and a patriot. He was, of course, all of those things and more—much more. In this body where some of our Nation's greatest leaders have served. SCOOP JACKSON will be remembered by historians as one of the best.

My first privileged contact with this great American was in 1969, when I joined the Department of the Navy as Under

Secretary. I remained in that position for several years and succeeded our distinguished colleague, John Chafee, as Secretary in 1972. Therefore, for a period of over 5 years, I appeared many times before Senator JACKSON, a member of the Armed Services Committee.

When elected to the Senate, he was among the very first to extend the hand of welcome. Most importantly, he allowed me the opportunity to receive his wealth of wisdom. Indeed, the many long conversations that we have had, on a wide range of subjects, are unparalleled in terms of his ability to link historical precedents to present day crises. No Member of the U.S. Senate had a better grasp of Soviet history, a better ability to translate Soviet behavior in terms of their history.

In a world constantly threatened by aggressive powers, SCOOP worked tirelessly to keep America strong and prepared. It was my good fortune to work shoulder to shoulder with a legend, whose views I admired and supported. SCOOP JACKSON had vision. He recognized that America's freedom could never be taken for granted. His was a purposeful, forceful voice for those who believe that our Nation's national security should never be compromised. His commitment to these ideals transcended party lines and never wavered.

As a very junior Member of the Senate, it was an unusual privilege to be asked by Senator JACKSON to join him on certain pieces of legislation, foremost among them being the Jackson-Warner resolution which had the support, I recollect, of over 60 Members of the U.S. Senate. That resolution, of course, dealt with goals for which he lived night and day—to reduce tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union by way of a verifiable and equitable reduction of nuclear arms.

Late last year and early this year, Senator JACKSON, together with Senator Nunn, and myself, initiated efforts to encourage the administration and Congress to begin working toward improved technical communications relating to national security matters between the United States and the Soviet Union. The three of us sponsored an amendment, which became law, recommending a study of confidence-building measures. This amendment induced the President and members of his administration to perform a study to provide for the Soviet Union

and the United States the most modern systems of communications to replace the national security "hot line."

We also were members of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. I recall very well after my first 2 years in the Senate, Senator JACKSON convinced me of the vital interdependence of national security and energy.

I reluctantly resigned from the Commerce Committee and accepted a position on the Energy Committee of which he was chairman. Our partnership was structured in yet another area of work, and our professional relationship broadened.

Many Senators knew him better than I and served with him far longer. Like you, he inspired me by example, by his boundless energy, by his kindness, and by his accomplishments. He was a teacher in the Senate. And I, for one, learned much from his lessons.

SCOOP JACKSON will be remembered as the prototype of the public servant. To the Congress in which he served for 43 years, he was a model of integrity, compassion, and commitment to the ideals in which he so deeply believed. And though his accomplishments were many, he will be remembered as a man of humility who earned the respect of all.

I say with great humility that I looked upon him as a big brother in the Senate, and to whatever extent I have made modest achievements in this body, much of it is owing to his wisdom, his teaching, and his patience. SCOOP JACKSON was always available—night or day, in the Senate Chamber, in his office, at home—to all of us to share his views.

I will never forget his funeral. We witnessed, in certain respects, the reincarnation of this extraordinary human being by the manner in which his young daughter and son spoke at the services.

All of us were deeply touched by their ability to eulogize their beloved father in the presence of over half the Senate, the Vice President, the Chief Justice, family, and friends. Only through wisdom and love given by a great father could two children have imparted to us the courage and conviction we need to carry on his beliefs. His wife, Helen, for whom we have the deepest respect and affection, will always be with us.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, our Nation lost a great patriot when Senator HENRY JACKSON died without warning during the recess. SCOOP, as we knew him, was a true friend and a man of

his word who said what he believed. He was respected for his integrity above everything else.

SCOOP JACKSON was a longtime friend of mine. Our friendship predates my 8 years as Governor of Nebraska. We met in the early sixties when SCOOP was chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He visited our State several times during his public life. He was always well received, admired, and respected.

When SCOOP ran for the Presidency in 1972 and 1976, I actively supported his candidacy. I believe he would have made a great President who would have served our country well both in good and bad times. Many of us often called on SCOOP's wealth of knowledge and experience in the Congress on a whole range of issues.

As a Member of the Senate, I had the pleasure of serving with SCOOP on the Senate Armed Services Committee. He always expressed the importance of maintaining a sound defense in order to keep the peace. Our views on defense blended well, but even on those occasions when he disagreed, he always respected the opposing view.

HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON was the great modern-day patriot of the Senate. He was dedicated, steady, and resolute. He was admired, respected, and loved. Words such as "we shall miss him" are the understatement of the decade. His contributions benefited our country; and while another person will accept his duties, he will not be replaced or forgotten in the Senate. History will record HENRY JACKSON as one of the true giants of the U.S. Senate.

A great leader of this institution and this country has been called to his greater reward. His beloved family, his friends and associates here are the losers. But Senator HENRY JACKSON was never associated with losers and would not want us to be so cast. His memory and work will be our inspiration for the future. Godspeed, SCOOP.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, you don't know what you have until you lose it.

There has been little that has enriched my life so much during my 5 years in the Senate than the opportunity to know, to be associated with, to work with, and occasionally to lock horns with Senator HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON.

SCOOP JACKSON was not a tall man, but he was clearly a giant among us; the epitome—and perhaps the acme—of what a Senator should be. A vigorous partisan who had been the chairman of his party's national committee, a key figure in the nomination and election of John F. Kennedy, and twice a candidate himself for the Presidency of the United States, SCOOP JACKSON always knew when the time for partisanship stops and the time for bipartisanship begins. I learned early on in my Senate career that there was no more vigorous and effective ally to have on your side on a particular issue than SCOOP JACKSON; nor a more formidable foe to have against you. But whether SCOOP was for you or against you on a particular issue, he was always the best of friends.

I do not know of any Senator who was respected more for his honesty, integrity, courage, the depth and breadth of his knowledge, his ability to get things done in the Senate than SCOOP JACKSON. I know of none who were better liked.

SCOOP JACKSON will be remembered for many things. But I think he will be remembered most for his vigorous and unrelenting opposition to tyranny in any form, and his wholehearted commitment to the cause of human rights. SCOOP JACKSON knew that the best way to keep America free is to keep America strong. SCOOP JACKSON knew evil when he saw it, and he never hesitated to call it by its right name.

There never would be a good time for the Senate to be without SCOOP JACKSON; but we miss him especially sorely now when his knowledge, his leadership, his bipartisan spirit of cooperation would be so useful in crafting a proper response to the cold-blooded murder of 269 people aboard Korean Air Lines flight 007. That shocking deed was not a shock to SCOOP JACKSON, who had warned us often about the nature and intentions of those at the helm of the Soviet Union today.

But although SCOOP JACKSON the man is gone, he has left behind him a legacy which will enrich this body and all who serve in it. SCOOP JACKSON belongs to the ages now, like Robert Taft, Richard Russell, Bob LaFollette, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster before him. We miss SCOOP JACKSON terribly now, but I suspect we will miss him even more a few years from now when historians will have a better opportunity to assess SCOOP JACKSON's greatness and his uniqueness. We were

living with a legend, but I don't think we fully appreciated that fact until the legend stopped living.

Mr. ZORINSKY. Mr. President, the praise has come in from every corner of the Nation and, indeed, the world. To his colleague and friend, Senator Edward Kennedy, he was, "in an era of slick images and slack ideas * * * a real man." To columnist and friend George Will he was "the finest public servant I have known." To former employee and friend Ben Wattenburg he was, "by far, the most decent, most professional, and most idealistic man * * * in American political life."

What more can be said of one who has been so widely praised, so canonized? Perhaps it is enough to say, simply, I find it hard to imagine the institution of the Senate without my friend and colleague, Senator HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON.

There is no question he was a leader among us. The shadow he cast in the Senate Chamber was as impressive as it was long.

As chairman of the Energy Committee, he was the author of the National Environmental Policy Act and the creator of the EPA. As a major spokesman on defense matters, he helped shape the SALT I agreement and countless measures that have influenced and bolstered our national security. As a leading defender of the persecuted and oppressed, he reminded us constantly that securing basic human rights must forever be a goal of the United States.

But there was more—much more—to SCOOP JACKSON than the bills that bore his name and the national policies he helped mold. That was the human side of SCOOP and, above all else, he was a remarkably decent and moral man. Our colleague, Senator William S. Cohen, called him, most appropriately, the "gentle warrior." He had a commonsense approach, yet his views were strongly held and well thought out. He was hard working to a fault and always there when wise counsel or just the comfort of a friend was needed. Perhaps most of all, it can be said, SCOOP JACKSON had character.

One measure of the man is seen in his relationship with his friend and junior colleague from the State of Washington these past 2 years, Senator Slade Gorton. They were of different parties. Senator JACKSON had chaired the campaign of Slade's opponent in 1980, SCOOP's close friend and longtime associate, Warren Magnuson. And yet, within an hour of

Slade's victory in that 1980 election, SCOOP was on the phone to Slade, offering guidance and support to his new colleague.

The first day the Senate met after SCOOP's death, that same Senator Slade Gorton had this to say about his colleague and friend from Washington:

It is for us now to remind ourselves and our children of the virtues of patriotism, courage, and humanity which made HENRY JACKSON so great; to rededicate ourselves to these virtues; and to give thanks that we were allowed by our Creator to be changed and enriched by his company.

I most heartily agree.

FLOWER DISPLAYS IN THE CHAMBER FOR DECEASED SENATORS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the minority leader and I had a discussion some days ago about providing floral arrangements or flowers in the Senate Chamber in connection with the death of our late colleague, Senator JACKSON.

At that time, by unanimous consent, the standing orders of the Senate were waived in order to permit a floral arrangement.

I now send to the desk a resolution for myself and for the distinguished minority leader dealing with this subject and ask that it be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 221

Resolved, That notwithstanding the resolution of the Senate of February 24, 1905, upon the death of a sitting Senator, the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader may permit a display of flowers to be placed upon the desk of the deceased Senator on the day set aside for eulogies.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed to its immediate consideration.

Without objection, the resolution (S. Res. 221) is considered and agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Chair.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, all of us deal with sadness from time to time, but sometimes, there comes a sadness that is particularly difficult to accept. That is the way I feel about the loss of the distinguished Senator from Washington, HENRY JACKSON.

That is the first time, Mr. President, that I recall having referred to that great Senator as HENRY JACKSON—and I think it tells something about him that all of us called him SCOOP, referred to him as SCOOP, and thought of him as SCOOP. He was not just a colleague. He was a greatly admired friend.

SCOOP JACKSON was a patriot and a statesman. Our Nation has lost a man dedicated in the fullest sense of the word to the national security of America. He understood the evil implications of the policies pursued by expansionist totalitarian powers, whether the Germany of the Hitler regime or the Soviet Russia of the Communist regime.

On one of the most fundamental issues before this body, the defense of our Nation from the threat posed by the ever-expanding Soviet nuclear arsenal, SCOOP JACKSON was second to none in his dedication to building a military defense posture which would deter the Soviets from aggression.

Mr. President, throughout the SALT debates and throughout debates on our defense posture, his words and actions were boldly addressed to the dangers posed by the Soviet Empire. Constantly he encouraged us to support a strong defense posture. His words on our national defense proceeded from a wisdom born of some four decades of service in the Congress of the United States of America.

In his three decades in this body, he was respected and admired as a hard-working Senator, considerate to his colleagues, and loved by the people of his State. Indeed, SCOOP JACKSON was loved all across this land for his dedication to a strong defense, for his defense of minorities under the heel of totalitarian regimes, and for his personal dignity and leadership.

It is an irony of history that such a staunch defender of our national security was called to his Maker on the day following the Soviet massacre of 269 innocent men, women, and children who were traveling in a civilian jetliner across the Pacific. Among his last public words on that day, he stated plainly that the Soviets had committed an act of barbarism. SCOOP JACKSON

had dedicated his career here among us to defending our Nation against just such barbarism and to improving the life of his fellow Americans.

Mr. President, I shall never forget the words, the actions, the wisdom of SCOOP JACKSON in his defense of America and freedom. As we consider the great issues of national defense, we should pause to reflect and ask, "What would SCOOP have done?" His unswerving dedication to our national defense will memorialize him in the hearts of this generation and those who come after us.

Mr. President, Dorothy and I extend our loving sympathy to Helen, Anna Marie, and Peter. Theirs has been a caring, loving family, and we want them to know that we love them, too.

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, when Senator HENRY JACKSON died my home State of Oregon lost a good neighbor and, like so many of my colleagues, I lost a good friend. Our Nation and this institution will sorely miss the wisdom, leadership and experience of "SCOOP" JACKSON.

I join in expressing my deepest sympathy to Helen Jackson and their two children, Anna Marie and Peter.

Like the Jackson family, many of us here also feel a sense of familial loss because "SCOOP" JACKSON was a patriarch of what one might call the Senate "family." Few Members in the history of this body have been so willing and able to carry the torch for causes they believe in and carry that torch so effectively.

Furthermore, Senator JACKSON carried that mantle of leadership in the method that marks effectiveness in the Senate—extensive research on issues—ability to persuade Senators with his knowledge and reasoning—the difficult skill of constructing compromises that permit good ideas to become law—all of which wins the unending respect and admiration of colleagues.

Ideologically, "SCOOP" JACKSON has been long noted for his unswerving dedication to a secure American defense, but he was just as unyielding in his belief in a just and fair America where no one should be needy and deprived. "SCOOP's" compassion for the less fortunate and his pragmatic recognition of the need for a strong America in a hostile world are facets of the man that will live forever.

For those of us in the Senate, for his constituents in the State of Washington, for this country and the world, HENRY

JACKSON left his mark. His actions, words, and deeds will never be forgotten. We have worked with one of the greatest people who has ever served in the U.S. Senate. He will be succeeded. He will never be replaced.

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, during the summer recess, the Senate suffered a tragic loss. Our distinguished colleague, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of the State of Washington, died suddenly on September 1.

We will greatly miss SCOOP JACKSON. For 42 years, SCOOP JACKSON represented the State of Washington in Congress. The last 30 years were spent in the U.S. Senate. At the time of his death, SCOOP was the ranking member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the third most senior Democratic Senator. On two occasions, he entered the race for his party's nomination for the Presidency.

But JACKSON was a man of far greater importance to this Nation and the Senate than these simple facts suggest. In this distinguished Chamber, noted for its great leaders, HENRY JACKSON was a giant. Indeed, he was an institution within this great Government.

For new Members of the Senate, he was a role model and the embodiment of what it was to be a Senator. For 30 years, Senator JACKSON was part of the Senate's tradition. It is with sorrow that we return to this Chamber knowing that this mighty political figure is gone.

To the Nation as a whole, Senator JACKSON was best known for his advocacy of a strong defense posture. He spoke out forcefully and repeatedly for American vigilance against the threat posed by the Soviet Union. It is characteristic that, in his last public act, he spoke out in protest against the Soviet Union's barbarous attack on Korean Air Lines flight 007.

SCOOP was a leading friend of Israel. Year in and year out, he remained a constant friend of this uniquely democratic Middle Eastern nation. SCOOP supported freedom and democracy wherever it flourished, but this only partly explains his support for Israel. The Senator was also a close friend of the world's Jewish community and used all his resources to assure that they would never again be victims of genocidal policies. His authorship of the landmark Jackson-Vanik amendment, tying most-favored-nation trade status for the Soviet Union to

Soviet policy on Jewish emigration, reflected this broad concern.

SCOOP had faith in the strength, loyalty, and basic goodness of the American people. He believed that the threat to U.S. security arose less from internal conspiracy than from policies of an expansionist Soviet Union.

Senator JACKSON was not a one-dimensional man. Though his foreign and defense policy views were well known, he was equally active in domestic affairs. Senator JACKSON was a New Deal Democrat who believed that the Government should actively advance and protect the interests of its citizens. He advocated the creation of a consumer protection agency. He authored the act that led to the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency. He was deeply concerned about the plight of our less fortunate citizens.

HENRY M. JACKSON left a clear record of his views. During his 30 years in this body, he cast over 11,000 votes. His statements on public policy were frequently covered in the media.

The Senate was fortunate to experience the leadership and companionship of SCOOP JACKSON. The Senate and our Nation are richer for the fact that he devoted his life to public service. I am saddened by the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, and I extend my deepest sympathy to his widow, Helen, the other members of his family, and the citizens of his beloved State of Washington.

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, on September 1, the Senate lost one of its greatest leaders, and we all lost a close friend.

For over four decades, Senator HENRY JACKSON faithfully served his constituents and our country with unparalleled vigor and an unselfish character. As we, who were honored to serve with him, were reminded and benefited time after time, he possessed a tremendous wealth of knowledge and expertise, especially in the areas of defense, energy, civil rights, and United States-Soviet relations. But, as significant as the wide sweep of his deep interests, his unfailing ability to identify and articulate the issue of central importance in any public policy debate was a gift that earned him unquestioned respect from both sides of the aisle. He was above all a fairminded man of infinite decency and total integrity, of talent married with energy that flowed from inner sources that most of us either never use or simply do not know how to draw upon. He was a

man whose strongly held beliefs brought him the affection of his coworkers and millions of countrymen.

SCOOP JACKSON will be long remembered for his tough anti-Communist stand and for his brilliance on affairs of national defense. But he also understood the importance of bipartisan-ship. No Senator worked harder to remove the threatening winds of party politics from the debate surrounding national defense than SCOOP JACKSON. To him, national security could not be an issue decided by the ideological differences of political parties. The safety of the American people was always first and foremost. We would be well advised, Mr. President, in these contentious and fractious times, to keep this, his example, in our minds as we remember SCOOP JACKSON, the man in our hearts.

Mr. President, SCOOP JACKSON's sentiments on issues of civil rights and personal freedoms were also a profound part of his character. As comfortable as he felt in his dealings with questions of national defense and security, he was similarly at ease in making an unflinching effort throughout his career in public service to afford the American people the widest latitude in personal freedoms. To Senator JACKSON, the rights of individuals were sacred and inalienable. He believed that individual human rights should know no boundaries and that human beings, be they a black millworker in North Carolina or a Jew in Leningrad, must be protected from those that would limit or prohibit basic and fundamental rights.

Very personally, Mr. President, I am profoundly saddened by the loss of a friend. He was the first Senator I met except for my employer, Senator Hugh Scott, when I came to work as a Senate staff member here in Washington in 1964. Although I was only a 25-year-old neophyte, he did not hesitate to welcome me into his office and be as gracious and helpful as he always was to all of us as colleagues. He was then a friend and contemporary of my father's. During my service in the Senate, I count myself fortunate to make a similar claim upon his and my relationship. It understates it to say that he is one of the most thoughtful, generous, and conscientious men I have ever met or have had the opportunity to work with. My colleagues and I are joined, I believe, by an entire international community that will mourn the passage of this outstanding leader.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, the sudden and unexpected death of Senator SCOOP JACKSON has cast a mood of gloom on the Senate as no other event has since I have been a Member of this body.

This is explained simply by acknowledging that SCOOP was genuinely respected and loved by his colleagues.

He was very competent and conscientious in the representation of his constituents, and in his relationship with fellow Senators he was always friendly and thoughtful.

I will always consider it a distinct privilege to have served in the Senate with him.

I admired him greatly and enjoyed being with him very much. He was so unpretentious and so openly warm and caring with everyone he encountered.

He was, at the same time, a talented legislator who used his skill and unusual abilities to gain passage of some of the most important legislation of our generation.

SCOOP JACKSON will be remembered and revered for a long, long time.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, virtually every one of us who recently paid tribute to SCOOP JACKSON made mention of his special relationship with his staff. One of the most moving tributes to SCOOP that I have seen comes from his longtime friend and chief counsel on the Senate Energy Committee, Mike Harvey. I ask unanimous consent that those remarks be printed in the Record.

SCOOP

(By Mike Harvey)

His life was noble, and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world: "This was a man."

And when he shall die, Take him and cut him out in little stars, And he will make the face of heaven so fine That all the world will be in love with night And pay no worship to the garish sun.

HENRY MARTIN JACKSON, U.S. Senator from Washington State, died last Thursday. Those of us who had the privilege and the joy of working with SCOOP JACKSON learned a lot about him and even more from him.

Short, gray-haired, youthful and vigorous at 71, and frequent wearer of the "Jackson uniform" (blue blazer, gray slacks, blue button-down shirt, striped tie, and black penny loafers), SCOOP dearly loved his wife Helen and his children, Anna Marie and Peter. He took great pride in his children's accomplishments. He also practiced diagnostic medicine without a license.

SCOOP taught us how to remember things we had to do by writing them on many little slips of paper that are kept folded together in your pocket. He taught us how to maintain a quick retrieval file system using brown manila envelopes that are kept stacked on your desk and chairs. He regularly demonstrated that it was possible to hold, simultaneously, three different meetings and two telephone conversations—each about different subjects—and achieve remarkably coherent results all around.

SCOOP believed that the study of history and English literature were the best preparation for a political career. As he once put it: "History teaches us how things got the way they are, and the great writers give us insight into human nature and behavior. Both help us make better public policy."

He consistently reminded us of the need for thorough professionalism in an all too often hurried and slapdash world. When we performed well, he gave us the ultimate JACKSON accolade: "Good work, troops!"

His national reputation came from his magnificent record on defense, foreign policy, economic, environmental, human rights, energy and natural resources issues, and two tries for the Democratic Presidential nomination. But when asked what he regarded as his single most important accomplishment, SCOOP said it was when in 1960 as Democratic national chairman for John F. Kennedy's successful Presidential campaign, "We put an end to religious bigotry as a major factor in American politics."

SCOOP was not our boss, he was our leader, our teacher, and above all our friend. He showed us how to disagree without being disagreeable. He believed that civility is not a sign of weakness, and that character is as important as competence. He taught us to lower the level of rhetoric and raise the level of reason. That willingness to compromise is not capitulation.

He demonstrated that one can accomplish more by openness, patience, and persistence than by cunning and surprise. He taught us that in government good people are even more important than good policy, and that idealism is still a viable force in the frequently cynical world.

Most importantly, he reminded us that honor and decency are essential ingredients of a truly civilized society. That each man and woman, regardless of his or her station in life, is entitled to be treated with dignity on the basis of our fundamental equality as human beings.

Our work with him exemplified John Kennedy's view of public service as "a proud and lively career." We respected him, we admired him, and we loved him. When he died, we cried, not for SCOOP, but for ourselves and for our country.

From now on in whatever we do, if we follow the lessons SCOOP taught us, we may not always be winners, but we will never be losers. And, from time to time when we have done our professional best, I'm willing to bet that we will hear a distant, but still penetrating voice saying a cheery: "Good work, troops!"

Mr. RUDMAN. Mr. President, today I would like to join the millions worldwide who have noted with sorrow the passing of HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON. It is fitting that we pay tribute to one who has meant so many things to so many people. Perhaps only upon his passing can one appreciate the full meas-

ure of the man's worth. In tributes already made, we find that SCOOP JACKSON was a loving husband and father, an environmentalist of some considerable vision, a staunch defender of the civil rights of all mankind, a skillful politician, a consummate statesman, and a patriot second to none. Perhaps more importantly, SCOOP JACKSON was a symbol to a world existing under the cloud of atomic uncertainty of the greater grace and spirit which is mankind's hope for peace on Earth.

Of course, I "knew" SCOOP JACKSON long before I first met him in 1981. I knew him as millions did, as a larger-than-life congressional leader, a *deus ex machina* if you will, capable of influencing with the constancy of his conviction and purpose the ebb and flow of American political thought. How surprised I was, as I am sure many were before me, when I first had the opportunity to speak and work with him, to find a warm and compassionate man whose capacity to offer friendship and counsel seemed limitless. SCOOP JACKSON was the embodiment of Thoreau's definition of a friend: "One who incessantly pays us the compliment of expecting from us all the virtues, and who can appreciate them in us." Fortunate to have been touched by one with such qualities, we will all be poorer for his passing.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this eulogy of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON printed in the Congressional Record. Mr. Wiesel was a friend and admirer of Senator JACKSON as noted by his touching statement.

HENRY M. JACKSON

It was a moment that stood on the other side of time, on the other side of existence. On the heels of the American liberators, a congressional delegation arrived in Buchenwald on April 12, 1945. Our eyes met in a unique encounter, one that left an indelible imprint on the consciousness of both. In that moment of grace, I could not have possibly foreseen that this fateful meeting between the representative of the free world, HENRY M. JACKSON, and the emaciated young boy would be just the first of many. What JACKSON saw then colored his philosophical and political life. In his persistence to remind the world that only by the collective effort of free humanity can the future of liberty be safeguarded, JACKSON became a witness to the past he had seen in Buchenwald. For JACKSON, true to his beliefs, a sentiment turned into thought, and thought yielded action.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record certain editorials from Kentucky, and

that they be included in the Senate document that is being prepared in honor of our former colleague, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

[From the Ashland (Ky.) Independent, Sept. 8, 1983]

THE CHANGING SENATE

SCOOP JACKSON is gone. Howard Baker and John Tower are leaving. The face of the U.S. Senate is changing—and not necessarily for the good.

With the sudden death last week of HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON (D-Wash.), the Senate lost one of its most respected elder statesmen, a specialist in defense matters who preferred the broad sweep of issues to the technical details. During his 42 years in Congress—30 of them in the Senate—JACKSON proved to be one of the more reasoned Senators. His death creates a huge void in the Democratic leadership of the Senate.

JACKSON's death follows announcements by Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), and Senator John Tower (R-Tex.), to not seek reelection. Both confessed to tiring of the routine of Senate politics and the difficulty in getting significant legislation approved by Congress.

Baker and Tower, along with Senator Robert Dole (R-Kans.), Senator Pete Domenici (R-N. Mex.), and a few others, formed the nucleus of Senate Republicans who have often served to save President Reagan from his own policies. On more than one occasion, they have provided a moderate voice to balance the excesses of Reagan-backed policies.

JACKSON, Tower, and Baker all shared a common trait which helped them be such effective national legislators. Because all three enjoyed immense popularity in their home States, they could afford the luxury of concentrating on long-range national issues rather than constantly worrying about getting reelected.

Unfortunately for our Government, the younger Senators who will assume the leadership posts of JACKSON, Tower, and Baker have yet to exhibit the skill and wisdom of the three elder statesmen.



[From the Advocate Messenger (Danville, Ky.), Sept. 7, 1983]

HENRY M. JACKSON

Senator HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON, who died unexpectedly Thursday at the age of 71, was one of America's best known Senators, a forceful spokesman for a strong defense and twice a Presidential contender.

The Washington Democrat was third in seniority in the Senate, where he had served since 1952. Until his election to the Senate he served in the House, to which he was elected for the first time in 1938, making him a 45-year congressional veteran.

JACKSON cast his 11,000th rollcall vote as a Senator in July, when he drew an ovation from his colleagues. The vote was in the majority on a 50-49 decision to kill an effort to delete funds for nerve gas production.

The ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, JACKSON was sometimes called the Senator from Boeing for his support of interests

dear to the heart of the aerospace industry, much of which is centered in Washington.

But his admirers called him the last cold warrior for his hard-line stands on defense issues.

JACKSON was elected to office for the first time at the age of 26 when he was chosen prosecuting attorney of his native Snohomish County. He sought the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972 and 1976, losing to George McGovern and Jimmy Carter. He served as chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1960 and 1961.

Funeral services were to be held today in Everett, Wash., where he died Thursday. An autopsy performed Tuesday attributed cause of death to a burst blood vessel instead of a heart attack as had been earlier reported.

His death comes as a surprise since he had been considered in excellent health and was still a dynamic leader, denouncing the Soviet attack on a South Korean jetliner hours before he was stricken. JACKSON's view of the Soviet threat may, in fact, gain further acceptance in the wake of the unprovoked attack and loss of civilian lives.



[From the Herald-Leader (Lexington, Ky.), Sept. 4, 1983]

USUAL LABELS DIDN'T FIT JACKSON

Democratic Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON leaves behind a legacy of faithful service to State and Nation—service marked by a consistency that was maintained regardless of the political climate in Washington.

JACKSON died Thursday. He was twice an aspirant for the Democratic nomination for President. He served 44 years in Congress, 12 as a representative, the rest as a Senator.

Because of the airline industry in his State, JACKSON frequently was referred to as the "Senator from Boeing." He was much more, however.

JACKSON was liberal on matters of civil rights, a conservative on relations with the Soviet Union and a hawk on military questions. As ranking Democratic member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, his views there greatly helped shape American policy.

Perhaps because of his views on military issues, JACKSON was a liberal who could communicate with conservatives. His stature in Washington was such that his counsel was sought by Presidents of both parties and advocates of all ideologies. President Nixon considered asking him to be Secretary of Defense; two decades before, President Truman wanted him as an Under Secretary of the Interior.

He first gained national recognition when, with two other Senators, he resigned temporarily from the Senate's permanent investigating subcommittee to protest the investigation methods of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

JACKSON first defined the "missile gap" between the United States and Russia, an issue that later was an integral part of President Kennedy's campaign. The Senator also was a leader in supporting the Navy's nuclear submarine program. He was a consistent supporter of Israel and a fervent advocate

of Russian Jews, tying Soviet emigration policies toward them to any U.S. deals with that nation.

JACKSON also was floor manager for Alaska and Hawaii statehood bills.

Last July he cast his 11,000th rollcall vote as a Senator.

JACKSON will be missed as a Senator. More importantly he will be missed as a leader, a counselor whose advice was based on stature, experience, and a dedication to his State and his country.



[From the Paducah (Ky.) Sun, Sept. 8, 1983]

PUBLIC LIFE ENRICHED BY SENATOR JACKSON

(By George Will)

WASHINGTON.—A silly person once said that only silly persons have heroes. But only exceptionally small people will not acknowledge the exceptionally large persons among us. Heroes make vivid the values by which we try to live.

I say, with many others: HENRY JACKSON was my hero.

He was an insoluble problem for the image-tinkers and a splendid puzzle for the label-makers who infest contemporary politics. Because he was uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, dull persons considered him dull. Discerning persons considered his kind of character as exciting as it is rare. Persons who, under the pressure of fashion, are as flexible as fly rods found JACKSON incomprehensible. They came to the absurd conclusion that he had departed from the liberal tradition.

He was a pioneer of environmentalism. He was the preeminent champion of civil rights. He fought for the full domestic agenda and authored legislation that put teeth into U.S. pronouncements on behalf of Jews and others persecuted by the Soviet regime. And if Jackson's proposals for substantial force reductions had been adopted, we might have had arms limitation agreements that actually limit arms.

JACKSON was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face toward adversaries.

From Wilson confronting Lenin and F.D.R. confronting Hitler, through Truman confronting Stalin, Kennedy confronting Castro, and Johnson confronting Ho Chi Minh, the Democratic Party has been the foremost opponent of this century's foremost evil—totalitarianism. JACKSON was an anchor against weariness, wishful thinking and apostasy in the world's oldest party.

He nurtured in this Republic something without which no republic can long endure: a sense that problems are tractable. To be in his presence was to experience the wholesome infection of a reviving spirit. This was especially remarkable because he, more than any contemporary, looked unblinkingly at, and spoke uncomfortingly about, the terrors of our time. He taught less clear-sighted, less brave persons how to combine realism and serenity.

He missed the ultimate prize of our politics, perhaps because he lacked the crackling temperament that marks persons who burn on the surface with a hard, gemlike flame. If his political metabolism seemed uncommonly calm,

that is because he had the patience of a mature politician—a gift for planning, thirst for detail, and a sense of ripeness in issues. He had a flame, but he had depth in which he kept it.

In committees and on the Senate floor, he was a cannon loaded to the muzzle with knowledge born of diligence. His unrivaled effectiveness was a rebuke to the less industrious and a refutation of the theory that fancy footwork is necessary and sufficient.

A legislature is a face-to-face society, where character and moral force tell. What JACKSON did in committees and on the floor was awesome. But it was only a small fraction of the work he did during four decades of 18-hour days, working with one Member after another, one Member at a time, building coalitions of commonsense.

His legendary energy flowed as much from his spirit as from his physiology. His biography is an essay on the sources of American vitality. He was the son of immigrants, and of the American West. His parents crossed not only an ocean but a continent, seeking an open future in our most open region.

For longer than I have been alive, Congress has been embellished by his presence. And for longer than I live, public life shall be enriched by the radiating force of his character.

If you wonder who real leaders are, find out who has real followers—persons who follow a leader onto a path of life, who adopt careers where they navigate by stars he taught them to see. The social geology of this city is layer upon layer of persons pulled into public life by the example of lives worth emulating. In numerous public offices, and in law and journalism, there is a thick layer of HENRY JACKSON's men and women.

There are those, and they are legion, who call themselves "Jackson Democrats." I can say with absolute authority that there is such a thing as a "Jackson Republican."

HENRY JACKSON mastered the delicate balance of democracy, the art of being a servant to a vast public without being servile to any part of it. He was the finest public servant I have known.



STEADFASTNESS BRED LOYAL CONSTITUENCY

(By Joseph Kraft)

WASHINGTON.—Any number of Senators can replace SCOOP JACKSON in such specialized areas as energy, defense, civil liberties, and Great Power politics. But nobody else can draw all these themes together in ways that make things happen.

So his untimely death represents a genuine national loss. The more so as it comes against a general decline in the caliber of public servants.

The Scandinavian heritage marked JACKSON in palpable fashion. He was a self-reliant individual, not, as so many politicians, a groupie. He liked to work things out for himself. While not a subtle or deep thinker, his convictions, once established, held firm.

Much fuss has been made as to whether he was a liberal or a conservative. In fact, his shaping political experience was the New Deal. Like all New Deal-

ers, he believed in the power of government to solve problems. He looked to government to redress the balance between rich and poor, to protect the rights of labor and minorities, to make available cheap power and abundant water and recreation. He also counted on government to manage national security in a robust way.

Because his views were so steadfast, he developed over time a personal constituency of extraordinary depth and reach. He won six terms as a Congressman from the State of Washington, and six as a Senator—the last with 69 percent of the vote. No one was closer to the Jewish community in this country. Nor to labor. So unlike almost all other Senators and Congressmen, JACKSON did not merely speak for himself. He commanded big battalions.

His New Deal connections, moreover, carried him beyond narrow support of the congressional prerogatives to a Presidential perspective. He knew the ins and outs of the Federal agencies better than most of their leaders. He sought the White House twice himself, and worked hand in glove with two Democratic Presidents—Kennedy and Johnson. A Republican, Richard Nixon, offered him the post of Secretary of Defense.

Because he had troops and a feel for the presidential viewpoint, he exerted extraordinary influence on the course of events. He practically determined energy policy. He shaped basis legislation on the environment and the development of water resources. His insistence on tying relations with Russia to explicit guarantees on Jewish emigration frustrated the policy of detente undertaken by Henry Kissinger under Nixon and Ford.

Most important, he personified bipartisan support for a strong defense. Other Senators—notably John Tower, the Texas Republican who now heads the Armed Services Committee, and Sam Nunn, the Georgia Democrat—set as much store by efficient military force as JACKSON. But he alone crossed ideological lines. He fostered trust between the Pentagon and the unions. He kept labor patriotic, and the generals in touch with ordinary people. He thus served as a potent factor in the building of national consensus.

Had he lived slightly longer, the true extent of his influence might have been made manifest. For the chances are the Democrats will carry the Senate in 1984. JACKSON would have become chairman of the Armed Services Committee. He would have dominated the Appropriations Committee, for the likely chairman, John Stennis of Mississippi, is over 80 and not in the pink. The combination would have given JACKSON far more power than any Senator has held since Richard Russell some 30 years ago.

He was the last of a breed. New Senators are made on television, and in an age where ideological fashion is turned against Government. They do not build loyalties quietly from within. They go for the evening news, usually by profiling themselves, from right or left, against the powers that be. More and more, the Senate is a collection of egos.

The corrosive forces at work in the Senate operate throughout Government. The quality of Cabinet officers, and Governors, and mayors, has slipped. Private satisfaction exerts, particularly for intelligent people, a stronger appeal than public glory.

[From the Kentucky Post, Sept. 6, 1983]

HENRY (SCOOP) JACKSON

The death of Senator HENRY JACKSON removes one of the giants from the national legislature.

The Democrat from the State of Washington was not among those flamboyant legislators who are more froth than substance. He was solid, hard working, honest—one of those Members who form the backbone of Congress.

It was a mark of the respect in which he was held that he had strong support from elements ranging across the political spectrum. Organized labor, the Jewish community, civil rights activists, hardliners on defense, staunch anti-Communists—all liked the cut of his jib. Democratic and Republican Presidents alike sought his counsel.

JACKSON'S diligence accounted for the acquisition of his nickname. As a 15-year-old in Everett, Wash., he delivered so many copies of the hometown newspaper without complaint from subscribers that they started calling him SCOOP.

Many of his political colleagues thought JACKSON was among the most qualified Americans for the Presidency. But that job eluded him, though he tried for it a couple of times.

He was an expert on energy matters, a staunch supporter of Israel, a friend of organized labor. He was a strong supporter of civil rights; it was typical of JACKSON that he quietly sent his children to public integrated schools while many other politicians who bragged about their civil rights records sent their children to private schools.

Perhaps he is best known for his support of a strong defense. He knew the Nation needed it in a world in which one of the superpowers was the Soviet Union. He once said the Soviet leadership reminded him of "burglars walking down a hotel hallway, trying every door."

A friend who is a heart specialist said that JACKSON'S anger over the Soviet's downing a Korean commercial airliner may have contributed to his fatal heart attack. Just hours before, he had appeared at a press conference in Everett to denounce the Soviet attack.

JACKSON'S presence will be missed on Capitol Hill. He was a superb legislator. He also was one swell fellow.



HENRY JACKSON FORGED COALITIONS OF COMMONSENSE

(By George F. Will)

WASHINGTON.—A silly person once said that only silly persons have heroes. But only exceptionally small people will not acknowledge the exceptionally large persons among us. Heroes make vivid the values by which we try to live. I say, with many others: HENRY JACKSON was my hero.

He was an insoluble problem for the image-tinkers and a splendid puzzle for the label-makers who infest contemporary politics. Because he was uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, dull persons considered him dull. Discerning persons considered his kind of character as exciting as it is rare. Persons who,

under the pressure of fashion, are as flexible as fly rods found JACKSON incomprehensible. They came to the absurd conclusion that he had departed from the liberal tradition.

He was a pioneer of environmentalism. He was the preeminent champion of civil rights. He fought for the full domestic agenda and authored legislation that put teeth into U.S. pronouncements on behalf of Jews and others persecuted by the Soviet regime. And if Jackson's proposals for substantial force reductions had been adopted, we might have had arms limitation agreements that actually limit arms.

JACKSON was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face toward adversaries.

From Wilson confronting Lenin and F.D.R. confronting Hitler, through Truman confronting Stalin, Kennedy confronting Castro, and Johnson confronting Ho Chi Minh, the Democratic Party has been the foremost opponent of this century's foremost evil—totalitarianism. JACKSON was an anchor against weariness, wishful thinking, and apostasy in the world's oldest party.

He nurtured in this Republic something without which no republic can long endure: a sense that problems are tractable. To be in his presence was to experience the wholesome infection of a reviving spirit. This was especially remarkable because he, more than any contemporary, looked unblinkingly at, and spoke uncomfortably about, the terrors of our time. He taught less clear-sighted, less brave persons how to combine realism and serenity.

He missed the ultimate prize of our politics, perhaps because he lacked the crackling temperament that marks persons who burn on the surface with a hard, gemlike flame. If his political metabolism seemed uncommonly calm, that is because he had the patience of a mature politician—a gift for planning, thirst for detail, and a sense of ripeness in issues. He had a flame, but he had depth in which he kept it.

In committees and on the Senate floor, he was a cannon loaded to the muzzle with knowledge born of diligence. His unrivaled effectiveness was a rebuke to the less industrious and a refutation of the theory that fancy footwork is necessary and sufficient.

A legislature is a face-to-face society, where character and moral force tell. What JACKSON did in committees and on the floor was awesome. But it was only a small fraction of the work he did during four decades of 18-hour days, working with one Member after another, one Member at a time, building coalitions of commonsense.

His legendary energy flowed as much from his spirit as from physiology. His biography is an essay on the sources of American vitality. He was the son of immigrants, and of the American West. His parents crossed not only an ocean but a continent, seeking an open future in our most open region.

For longer than I have been alive, Congress has been embellished by his presence. And for longer than I live, public life shall be enriched by the radiating force of his character.

If you wonder who real leaders are, find out who has real followers—persons who follow a leader onto a path of life, who adopt careers where they navigate by stars he taught them to see. The social geology of this city is layer

upon layer of persons pulled into public life by the example of lives worth emulating. In numerous public offices, and in law and journalism, there is a thick layer of HENRY JACKSON's men and women.

There are those, and they are legion, who call themselves "Jackson Democrats." I can say with absolute authority that there is such a thing as a "Jackson Republican."

HENRY JACKSON mastered the delicate balance of democracy, the art of being a servant to a vast public without being servile to any part of it. He was the finest public servant I have known.



[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer, Sept. 3, 1983]

HENRY JACKSON—THE WASHINGTONIAN WAS A LIBERAL WHO BELIEVED IN A
STRONG AMERICA

HENRY M. JACKSON went to Washington the same year Franklin D. Roosevelt won his third term. First as a Member of the House, and then, for 30 years, as a Senator, he was one of the most respected figures in Washington and one of the most influential.

The congressional system gives great weight to seniority. So Senator JACKSON was the beneficiary of his long service. But his influence stemmed from considerably more than longevity. It stemmed to an even greater extent from personal and political integrity, from consistency, from dogged courage.

Senator JACKSON came upon the national scene at a time when a powerful coalition was in the making—a coalition whose creators recognized the dangers that beset the United States and resolved to meet them.

During the years of World War II, through the cold war years, Democrats and Republicans argued long and hard about domestic issues but stood remarkably together in forging and implementing such audacious initiatives as the Marshall plan, the Truman doctrine, the North Atlantic Treaty.

Eventually, in the mid-1960's, that consensus began to erode. But HENRY JACKSON, to his credit, stood his ground. Despite all the lures of detente, he continued to see the Soviet Union as a burglar at large in a hotel corridor—a burglar tried every door. If the door was locked, he moved on; if it was unlocked he made away with everything in sight. History is likely to demonstrate that his diagnosis was on the mark.

Ultimately he stood almost alone in believing that it is possible to espouse liberal domestic policies and still believe in an adequate national defense and a vigilant foreign policy.

On two occasions Senator JACKSON sought the Democratic nomination for President. In 1972, he ran as a supporter of the Kennedy-Johnson administration's policies in Vietnam. But his party had already moved away from the foreign policy coalition of the postwar years, and the prize went to South Dakota's George McGovern.

He tried again in 1976, but that proved to be a year when the party and the country wanted a non-Washingtonian in the White House.

His disappointments subtracted nothing from his zeal or his convictions. He remained, until his last breath, a dedicated lawmaker and a respected participant in the national debate. The Senate is diminished by his sudden death.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, recently, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chili, Miguel Schweitzer; and His Excellency Gabriel Manueco, Ambassador of Spain, sent communications to Vice President George Bush, expressing their sorrow over the death of my good friend and colleague, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

I ask unanimous consent that these kind remarks from these two foreign dignitaries be included in the Record.

SANTIAGO, CHILE,
September 2, 1983.

His Excellency Mr. GEORGE BUSH,
*Vice President of the United States of America,
Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C.*

In your capacity as Chairman of the Senate, please receive our most sincere condolences on the passing away of Senator HENRY JACKSON, whose devotion to peace and freedom was well known over the world.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration and esteem.

MIGUEL SCHWEITZER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile.



WASHINGTON, D.C.,
September 2, 1983.

HON. GEORGE BUSH,
*President of the Senate,
The Capitol, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is with my personal sorrow that I send to you and to the Senate of the Congress of the United States the heartfelt condolence on the untimely death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

Reverently yours,

GABRIEL MANUECO.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, in the September 7, 1983, edition of the Weekly, George Weigel wrote a thoughtful and insightful article on the career and the place in our history of my late senior colleague, Senator JACKSON.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that article be printed in the Record at this point.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO SCOOP

(By George Weigel)

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON had led a full life, and died in the full flush of his intellectual and political powers. The personal pain, sharp as it may be this week, will eventually pass. But there is a public tragedy in JACKSON's death that will be much more difficult to salve. For HENRY JACKSON's passing marks the end of a crucially important era in American political culture, and leaves a huge void in our public life that will not be easily filled—if indeed it can be filled at all.

The essential politics of HENRY JACKSON came into clear focus for me this past May in Washington, D.C. At an evening described by host Ben Wattenberg as "what seems like the 42d resurrection of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority," JACKSON shared a panel discussion on Central America with Bill Doherty of the AFL-CIO's land-reforming American Institute for Free Labor Development, U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Congressmen Stephen Solarz and Michael Barnes. In the audience were Tom Foley, Jim Wright, Albert Shanker, The New Republic's Morton Kondracke, historian Allen Weinstein, and the former President of El Salvador, Jose Napoleon Duarte. Here, among those Democrats (and democrats) with whom he was most ideologically in tune, JACKSON was at his very best.

His highly-developed geopolitical sense was evident from his analysis of the Soviet stake in a destabilized Central American isthmus. But what most distinguished JACKSON was his ability, stated simply but persuasively, to see the dilemma of Central America whole. For JACKSON knew, and said in effect that night, that the argument between the Alexander Haigs and the Cyrus Vances on these issues—the "East/West problem" versus "local problem" dichotomy—was both analytically sterile and very unlikely to produce thoughtful, long term U.S. policy in the region. JACKSON did not flinch from the security and military dimensions of the question. But he insisted that, even as the Soviet/Cuban role had to be faced and a "security shield" developed for the region, the root causes of Central America's turmoil were social, political, and economic. Any American policy that did not help create the circumstances in which the people of that tortured area could see a personal stake in democracy, and the resolution of their grievances through political rather than Marxist-revolutionary means, was bound to fail.

It has long been fashionable to describe HENRY JACKSON as a "hawk," and his own rhetoric over the years did its share to contribute to such imagery. But to dismiss JACKSON in those crude terms is a disservice to a much more intellectually complex man. It also fundamentally distorts that current in American political culture—liberal, anti-Communist internationalism—which gave birth to much of the best in America's post-World War II foreign policy, and of which JACKSON was the last remaining senior spokesman. In that sense, what has died with HENRY JACKSON is a tradition that traced its ancestry through Harry Truman and Dean Acheson, and whose most romantic expression (despite subsequent mythologizing) was the John F. Kennedy who almost took JACKSON as his running mate in 1960.

It was this centrist core of the national Democratic Party, sustained by currents then dominant in the trade union movement, that guided America's

emergence as a global power with responsibilities for the future course of world history. It is easy to forget, over two generations, how much of a sea-change these Democrats effected. America was not in an internationalist mood coming out of World War II. Conservative Democrats worried about the effects of a wide-ranging international engagement on the character of the country, and especially on the budget. The Taft wing of the Republican Party, with whom Arthur Vandenberg and Dwight Eisenhower finally broke ranks, but which helped produce Joseph McCarthy, remained profoundly isolationist. The American intellectual Left was torn by its own internecine battles between Stalinists and anti-Stalinists. Two expressions of this warfare were the Henry Wallace campaign and the original Americans for Democratic Action (not to be confused ideologically with the same organization today). In this cauldron of ideological battle, and faced with such brute facts of history as the collapse of the British empire and Soviet intransigence in Greece, Iran, and Eastern Europe (particularly Czechoslovakia), what came to be known as the Jackson wing of the Democratic Party designed a complex and not-to-be-oversimplified model for America's unavoidable engagement with the world.

A sharp, unsentimental view of the nature of the Leninist state that had emerged from the war as a global superpower was surely a dominant characteristic of their analysis. Taken to an oversimplified extreme, that anticommunism helped bring about the still-unfolding tragedy of Southeast Asia. But there was much more to this perspective than its firm convictions about the intentions of Soviet power.

Men like JACKSON had cut their political teeth, and built much of their political base, on the American trade union movement, which throughout the 1920's and 1930's had been the scene of a massive contest for power between Communists and anti-Communist liberals and social democrats. Those who came out of this milieu knew that sheer anticommunism was not enough, any more than exclusively military responses to revolutionary circumstances could succeed. That most volatile of human ideas—that things didn't have to be the way they were—had been loosed on the world, just as it had been loosed within the American working class in the first three decades of this century. The contest for power in the world would be decided, as it had been domestically, by an ability to meet the Communist challenge, not with the nostrums of laissez-faire conservatism, but by effective programs of social change and development.

The rebirth of Europe and Japan after World War II, the emergence of a nascent community of democracies rooted in the North Atlantic community but extending beyond it, the containment of Stalin's more gross territorial ambitions: all these were at least partially the responsibility, and the great accomplishment, of liberal, anti-Communist internationalists like HENRY JACKSON. Their ability to weave between the twin dangers of the Right—isolationism or mindlessly confrontational antisovietism that refused to engage with the world's other dominant power—and the sentimentality of the Left played no small part in shaping a U.S. foreign policy that allowed a figure like John Kennedy to be the revered world symbol of hope that he became.

In the bitter aftermath of Vietnam, a debacle during which many liberal anti-Communists forgot the social reform dimension of their analysis, the JACKSON worldview was increasingly dismissed as irrelevant, anachronistic,

dangerous. The 1970's, at least on the short view, look now like the decade in which cruder analyses and more strident voices came to dominate public discussion and foreign policy. The idea that democracy is not a North Atlantic peculiarity, but a universal yearning of all peoples who wish to control their own fate, was largely rejected, by both Left and Right (for different reasons, of course). The notion that the Soviet agenda was to be challenged, contained, and ultimately changed through imaginative U.S. policies was replaced by an emphasis on accommodation, a theme advanced not only (or even most effectively) by the new liberals, but by such major figures in the American business community as Armand Hammer, Donald Kendall, and Cyrus Eaton. New forms of isolationism emerged, again from both Left and Right. Human rights were not to be a major focus of U.S. efforts in the world.

The aftershocks of Iran, Afghanistan, and Poland, and the relentless drive of Soviet military expansion, have brought us, in a great historical irony, back to a situation and a set of arguments not dissimilar from those of the immediate post-World War II period. Having survived politically the firestorm of the late sixties and early seventies, JACKSON was beginning to appear, not as a fossil, but as a statesman.

His measured approach to the multiple, connected crises of Central America was, in my view, the best single sign of hope over the past year. It contained all of the elements of the traditional line; that Soviet power had to be faced squarely; that confronting that reality involved security questions and military issues; but that the final resolution of the crisis would not be military in nature, but had to involve a thorough going economic, social, and political reform in the region. Perhaps more than any other person, or set of political pressures, it was JACKSON's ability to take the partial truths of the Haig and Vance views, and weave a more complete truth out of them, that led to a changed administration approach to Central America, the appointment of the Kissinger commission and the designation of Richard Stone as special envoy to the region, and the (admittedly faint) glimmers of possibility that had begun to cut through the darkness of a polarized American public debate and the increasingly deadly situation on the ground in Central America. That JACKSON's voice in this ongoing argument—which is by no means resolved, commissions and envoys notwithstanding—has now been stilled is a public tragedy of the first magnitude. As I look through the current roster of the U.S. Senate, it is virtually impossible to find a single figure, Republican or Democrat, who will raise the Jacksonian perspective, much less bring to it the authority of age and experience that would have been JACKSON's. At the very moment when HENRY JACKSON was on the verge of assuming the statesman's mantle that had so long eluded him, through his own faults, but also through others', he is gone.

There is also bitter irony in the accident of history (or design of an inscrutable providence) that combined, in a single day, JACKSON's death and the brutal murder of 269 Korean Air Lines passengers by the Soviet Union. JACKSON's response to this crime, at what became his final press conference, was a model of the kind of mature statesmanship that he had begun to incarnate. The facts of the case could not be denied; the truth of Soviet responsibility had to be acknowledged, here and in Moscow. Moreover, the question of just what it is about the Soviet system that brought it to such an unconscionable act had to

be thought through: are we right in assuming that Soviet leaders operate under the same set of moral constraints that, however weakly, still shape our own policy calculus? But to this realism JACKSON brought a measure of that calm which seems to come from both understanding and long experience. Unlike those elements on the Right that saw in the Korean Air Lines tragedy the occasion finally to declare the Soviet Union a pariah nation, with which no other power should have any responsible business, JACKSON knew, and stated, that what was needed was not disengagement, but a kind of engagement that both faced the facts of Soviet responsibility and worked to change their policy so that such a tragedy could not happen again. JACKSON understood that the Korean Air Lines crime could not be put only, or even primarily, into a United States/Soviet framework, but had to be seen for what it essentially was: a great, new tear in the already tattered fabric of world order. It was the "international community," JACKSON said, that had to take responsibility for asserting the complete unacceptability of a crime such as the Soviets', and for devising a response to the crime that lowered the chances of its repetition.

"International community" is one of those stock phrases that politicians and diplomats often trot out in moments of stress, or when effective national action seems unlikely. But, for JACKSON, "international community" meant, I think, something very real, or at least something that ought to be real. JACKSON's extensive involvement in military hardware issues, and his role as resident critic of SALT I and SALT II, can obscure other commitments that ran just as deeply (deeper, I believe) in his politics. We should not forget that it was JACKSON who, with Daniel Patrick Moynihan and a small band of centrist Democrats, reestablished human rights as a central focus of U.S. foreign policy, quite before Jimmy Carter was even a blip on the national political radar.

It was this commitment to human rights, I think, that was most basic in JACKSON's anticommunism. JACKSON had, at his best, a rare geopolitical clairvoyance; he understood the central reality of power in world politics, and the power threat posed by the U.S.S.R. But what sustained JACKSON in his anti-communism, particularly during those long years when it was so unfashionable, was, I would guess, a profound moral revulsion at the nature of the Leninist/Stalinist state, and what it did to individual human lives. JACKSON, steeped in Scandinavian Protestantism, knew instinctively that the City of God and the City of This World are distinct realities; but he also knew that they intersected as the most crucial points of human politics, when the questions become, what is a good person and the good state, and the relationship between the two? JACKSON was no political rhetorician, a flaw that surely contributed to his failed Presidential ambitions, so one will probably look long and far to find such sentiments in his public statements. But a careful tracking of the trajectory of his career—and its remarkable consistency of perspective, for both good and ill—will, I think, reveal these kinds of concerns as not only present, but basic.

In the short term, there could be no more appropriate public memorial to HENRY JACKSON than a U.S. response to the Korean Air Lines tragedy that did justice to the full measure of JACKSON's multilayered worldview. Such a response might strike at least the following notes, and operate along the following lines:

The destruction of Korean Air Lines flight 007 would be put into its appropriate context, which is not primarily United States/Soviet, but international, American officials would make it clear that, in our minds, what has been done here is most fundamentally a brutal violation of basic tenets of international law. The international community is too fragile now, we would emphasize, for such behavior to go unremarked, unchallenged, and unchanged.

The traditional Soviet fear of territorial encroachment, with its deep roots in Russian culture and history, is an acknowledged factor in world affairs. But it cannot be allowed to become the excuse for inexcusable behavior, because radical openness to others' power is in fact the condition of the whole world today. Such is the real meaning of interdependence, and the source of much of the volatility of international life today.

Because of the international implications of the Soviets' action, the immediate, appropriate political forum for dealing with it is the United Nations. The predictable failure of the United Nations to come to grips with the problem, though, should not be the occasion to abandon the idea that crimes against the international community must be dealt with on an international basis, by whatever functioning elements of international life now exist. There are two international nongovernmental organizations who could be very effective in imposing sanctions challenging the U.S.S.R.'s access to international civil aviation, whose rules it has drastically broken. The sanction, in general, would be denial of Soviet access to the international air travel system. The organizations that could make this possible are the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations, and the International Association of Air-Traffic Controllers. The former should refuse to fly into the U.S.S.R., or any other nation which votes against a U.N. General Assembly censure of the Soviet action off Korea. The air-traffic controllers should refuse to handle any Aeroflot flights that leave the airspace of the Soviet Union. Both of these sanctions would remain in place, until such time as the Soviet Government acknowledges its responsibility for the fate of Korean Air Lines flight 007, apologizes publicly for that crime, offers compensation to the families of the victims of the incident, and agrees that it will refrain from such barbarism in the future. The sanctions would be automatically reapplied if the Soviet Union, or indeed any other nation, commits such a crime again.

Such a response, which does not acquiesce to the harsh realities of Soviet power, but seeks to change those realities through effective, nonmilitary action, would be firmly within the Jacksonian tradition. It seems that we are often unable to face the facts about the Soviet system when the tragedies it perpetrates are large scale: the purge trials of the 1930's, the postwar violations of Eastern Europe, the invasions of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1978, the pressure on Polish trade unionists, the abiding horrors of Gulag and the psychiatric hospitals. It is only when the issue becomes personalized, as in the death of 269 innocent travelers, that the full message comes home.

HENRY JACKSON would surely have wanted us to take the full measure of that message, to drink to the bottom, in effect, the cup from which he drank for four decades. But he would want more. He would want America to act as if it were in fact, as well as theory, the confident democracy our rhetoric proclaims us to be. He would want us to act in ways that changed Soviet policy, and not

merely be revolted by it. He would want us to act in a manner that strengthened the capacity of this fragile world to resolve its differences without the military force he spent so much of his public life defending.

In the cold light of history, there will surely be much with which to find fault in JACKSON's worldview, his policies, and his rhetoric, as there would be with any significant public figure. It is those who make no difference who are largely immune from reasonable criticism. But, for the moment, as we reflect on the incredible twists of fate which now inextricably link his death to the raw dimensions of power which he tried to address, what seems most important is not whether he was right or wrong on Vietnam, and when, or whether he was right or wrong on SALT II, and how. What seems important is that he saw clearly the central conundrum of our times—that the problem of the Soviet Union and the urgent problem of war cannot be untangled—and insisted that resolving the first dilemma and the second must be a concurrent process. It is that message of HENRY JACKSON, so often obscured by others of his voices, that will be most missed. For in it resided his enduring greatness.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, in the loss of HENRY JACKSON, we once again see clearly that death cancels everything but truth. He is no longer with us in the flesh, but we know assuredly that even though his passing cancels our earthly interaction with him and the vigorous contribution he daily made to his family, friends, and constituents, it does not cancel, indeed cannot cancel, the truth of his words and deeds. And what a comfort it is to know that in faith the sleep of death is only a temporary hiatus in our fellowship with him. I am reminded of the words of Samuel Butler that "To die completely, a person must not only forget but be forgotten, and he who is not forgotten is not dead."

SCOOP was the chairman of the old Interior Committee when I came to the Senate. Much has been said about his concern for the individual and his helpfulness to colleagues of whatever political persuasion. I personally found that true as a freshman Senator and throughout the years of our association. He oriented me to the realities of life in the Senate and encouraged me in my discouragement more times than I can now even recall. He was never limited in his vision for solutions merely to what was good for Washington State, although never was there a more eloquent advocate for the needs of his constituents. In a very real way, the Northwest was his State as the Columbia River was never a barrier. He came across it numerous times, as easily as though it were a county line, to work with the Oregon delegation on matters of mutual interest. And, as we all know, in like manner his love and advocacy for the

Native American, the handicapped, the unemployed, and others in need made the Nation his State. Rightly there has been much stated about SCOOP's contributions in the areas of energy policy and strengthening our Armed Forces, but from my perspective as a neighbor and friend, his greatest legacy will be framed in the context of his role in the American Indian Health Care Act and his work for the handicapped.

As many of us attended the services for SCOOP, our hearts were tugged by the loss that Helen, their children, many relatives, friends, and colleagues were suffering. It is a comfort, that I am sure is not lost on SCOOP, that we who are left behind are suffering much more than he is. The old parable is always instructive at a time like this which tells of the cheering, laughter, and joy at the launching of a new voyage of life at birth; but the weeping and sorrow at the coming into port of the ship at the end of the cruise of life. Should it not be at least in a measure reversed that we cheer and laugh and rejoice over the fruitful and successful and faithful life of the humble servant who arrives at the end of his life with his reputation intact and his memory revered. Certainly, it is the reality that our repugnance to death is in proportion to the consciousness of a life being lived in vain. HENRY JACKSON's life was surely not lived in vain. His efforts were monumental. His memory will be a treasure to me the remainder of my days. His faith encourages me all the more to trust that "in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruit of those who have fallen asleep." And that "He must reign until He has put all His enemies under His feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death * * *. What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable. It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body." (I Corinthians 15: 20-25, 42-44).

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, with the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, the country has lost a leader of unusual vision and ability, the Senate has lost one of its giants, and many of us have lost a trusted personal friend.

My heartfelt sympathy goes out to SCOOP's family, to his wife Helen, and to his children, Peter and Anna Marie. My wife Colleen and I felt especially close to SCOOP's family and to his beloved State of Washington, because Colleen is from

Olympia. My thanks go out to the people of Washington State for sending SCOOP JACKSON to serve this Nation.

Though Helen and his children grieve at his loss, they can rejoice that they were privileged to know him as a loving husband and father. The time and attention he devoted to his children—which Peter and Anna Marie described so eloquently at his funeral—has given them a solid foundation on which to build.

It would be impossible for me to summarize adequately the life and achievements of Senator JACKSON. Like all truly great men, the magnitude of his accomplishments will undoubtedly loom larger with the passing days and years. His unrivaled effectiveness as a Senator stemmed from the trust, respect, and admiration he inspired in each one of us, regardless of our party or our political philosophy.

I was 2 years old when “SCOOP” JACKSON was first elected to the House of Representatives, and I was a boy of 14 when he came to the Senate. By the time of my own election in 1972, he was an established leader in this body and in the country as a whole. I considered it a great honor to serve with him, a great benefit to share his knowledge and experience, and a great privilege to be his friend.

I had the good fortune to be assigned to two committees—Armed Services and Governmental Affairs—on which Senator JACKSON sat as a senior member. He became my adviser and my mentor from the day I arrived in the Senate. I know from personal experience that he was a loyal and untiring ally when he agreed with you—and a formidable but honorable foe when he did not.

One of the first pieces of legislation that I was involved in was the Jackson-Nunn offset amendment, requiring that our allies offset the balance-of-payments deficit created by the stationing of U.S. Forces in NATO. I recall working with him on a wide array of other issues as well, ranging from draft registration to strategic arms. SCOOP JACKSON was the expert I looked to for advice in so many areas—national security, foreign policy, energy, and the environment, to name only a few. I never ceased to be impressed by the soundness of his judgment and the breadth of his knowledge.

I had the privilege of working closely with Senator JACKSON on the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

Under his chairmanship between 1973 and 1979, the subcommittee investigated a wide range of important topics—from the energy crisis to the effectiveness of the Federal Drug Enforcement effort to the transfer of high technology to the Soviet bloc. I worked at his elbow during most of those investigations, and he gave me the opportunity to conduct a number of them as either acting chairman or vice chairman of the subcommittee. I had the distinct honor of succeeding him as chairman in 1979, and I will be forever grateful for the support he gave during the 2 years that I tried to fill his very large shoes.

SCOOP was the consummate student of world politics, one of the greatest geopolitical thinkers in the history of the U.S. Senate. His understanding of global issues flowed partly from his love of history, which he studied devotedly. He was always able to apply the lessons of the past to the challenges of the present and future.

The historical insights and anecdotes that he offered up in discussion and debate enlightened, charmed, and sometimes humbled us. Many will recall that at the time of the revolution in Iran, when all of Washington was seeking knowledge about that country, SCOOP turned hearings into informal seminars to which administration officials and Senators came to hear him expound on the history of Persia, on Iranian ethnic groups, and on the history of Soviet designs on and intrigues in that part of the world. He was just that kind of man, someone who always added to a discussion or debate by his knowledge and grasp of issues.

SCOOP JACKSON not only was a great student of history—he made history. He was always too modest to speak of his own role in shaping our postwar world, but it was considerable. SCOOP was elected to Congress more than a year before Pearl Harbor, and at the time of his death he had served more years continually in the Congress than any other incumbent Congressman or Senator.

SCOOP was one of the first Americans to enter the German concentration camp at Buchenwald after the war, and the searing memory of that experience inspired his passionate efforts to aid and sustain the State of Israel. He never wavered in this support.

SCOOP was a central architect of our postwar nuclear programs. As a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, he witnessed numerous nuclear tests and gained an appreciation for the awesome power man had discovered. He played a key role on many occasions in assuring that the United States maintained an adequate nuclear deterrent—pressing successive administrations not to allow the Soviets to gain superiority and literally keeping alive our nuclear submarine program in its early, uncertain days.

Senator JACKSON firmly believed that strength is the best deterrent to the Soviet threat. In this regard, I believe he subscribed to the words that Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote:

Happy are all free peoples,
Too strong to be dispossessed.
But blessed are they among nations,
Who dare to be strong for the rest.

SCOOP was a statesman and a Senator, playing a unique role on the world stage which few Members of this body have ever attained. SCOOP became deeply involved in the struggle for Europe's heart and mind in the 1950's, working to insure that radical forces did not take over the labor movements in Western Europe and that the NATO alliance remained strong and firm in a democratic tradition. He became so well known in Europe that in later years kings and prime ministers would alter their schedules to meet with him.

Nor were Europe and the Middle East the only stages on which he walked. In his first term as Senator, SCOOP visited the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, and even at that early date warned our Nation of Soviet designs on that country and of that strategic implications of the highway Moscow was building in Northern Afghanistan.

Interestingly enough, I heard him on several occasions explain the history of that highway and his warnings to the Afghan leaders about the Soviet's intentions and use of that highway. Certainly his prophecy became reality tragically for Afghanistan when the Soviets used the highway they built to invade and occupy that country.

In the last decade of his life, SCOOP worked to establish better relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China, developing close personal ties with a number of Chinese leaders. His last visit abroad, in fact, was

to China. SCOOP felt strongly that this relationship was essential to America's strategic interests, and he helped to keep our Nation on this course even when diplomatic mistakes and domestic politics produced serious obstacles.

But it was not only world leaders and strategic issues that dominated SCOOP's attention. He was deeply concerned also about the human rights and liberties of people everywhere in the world. He was particularly well known for his close ties with many Soviet dissidents and their families and his voice was raised again and again for human rights and against tyranny and oppression wherever they surfaced. No man spoke more boldly or more often about the terrible realities of our era.

At home, SCOOP was a champion of civil liberties. He resisted the excesses of the House Committee on Un-American Activities when he was a Congressman, and later, as a Senator, stood up to Joseph McCarthy at a time when few dared to do so.

The son of Norwegian immigrants who worked for everything he ever obtained, SCOOP was dedicated to the ideal of equal opportunity for all. He imbued the hundreds of people who worked on his staff over the years with a love of country, a devotion to duty, and a sense of loyalty. Many of them have gone on in public service and are one of his finest legacies to this Nation.

In these and all his other endeavors, right up to the end of his life, SCOOP JACKSON always gave 100 percent of his mental and physical capabilities to the great challenges that we face as a nation.

He was in the front rank of leaders in the Senate, and he was in the front rank of leaders in the history of our country.

I leave it to others to explain to future generations why this great American leader was never elected to our Nation's highest office. For myself, I will say simply, he would have served this Nation well in that capacity, but I wish to add and emphasize that he also served our Nation well as a Senator. SCOOP proved that one does not have to become President to leave indelible footprints on U.S. history.

Upon the death of Harry S Truman in 1972, Senator JACKSON said of that great American:

With the passing of the years, his place in history—and in the hearts of his countrymen—is ever more assured.

With the passing of the years, the same will be said of our friend, HENRY M. JACKSON.

Mr. LAXALT. Mr. President, I rise today to express my sorrow at the passing of my colleague and fellow American, HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON.

For nearly one-half century he served the people of the State of Washington and this country with unwavering and unequalled dedication. The length and exceeding quality of his public service insure him a place in history beside this country's great statesmen. Indeed, I am honored to have served with SCOOP JACKSON in the U.S. Senate.

While working with SCOOP over the past 8 years, I knew him as a respected statesman, a great American, and a valued friend. SCOOP had the rare ability to stand hard and fast by his principles while remaining open to reasoned opposition. SCOOP had another refreshing quality I have always admired and for which I will probably remember him best: Though he was among this Nation's most influential and powerful men, he always maintained the charm and simple ways that make up the common touch.

Although I will always miss Senator JACKSON the man, I find some solace in knowing that the things he stood for will live on in an America made better by his work and accomplishments. Simply put, Senator JACKSON was a man of unparalleled decency and integrity whose wisdom and leadership the world will sorely miss.

Mr. DURENBERGER. Mr. President, my first meeting with SCOOP JACKSON after I took office as a Senator on November 8, 1978, was in his office. It was almost 2 weeks after I came to the Senate in my first try for elected office. I wanted to be a member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee and he was its internationally reputed Chair. We settled down in the easy chairs in his office and that was impressive. We talked energy policy, but because of its relevance it was not long before we were into Middle East foreign policy. Knowing my situation, he deftly moved the conversation into the special values of the predominantly northern European roots of the constituencies we both represented. He made me feel the im-

portance of the obligation I was undertaking as no person yet had done.

I did not—and as yet have not—made it to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. But I met and made a friend not just a new colleague and it is that loss of a friendship which distinguishes SCOOP's sudden departure.

Now as I sit here on the 29th day of September listening to the final arguments in the debate over the first congressional exercise of its War Powers Act jurisdiction in 10 years, I find I have run out of time to say goodbye. It is made all the harder because I wish he were here now when we all need him most.

Somehow or other it struck me in both the Governmental Affairs Committee and the Intelligence Committee in which I sat so often with SCOOP JACKSON that he had both a sense of history and a sense of perspective that was not colored by his strongly held views, his Presidential aspirations, or his prejudices. But because he had views and he had aspirations and support for those aspirations and because he had strong feelings he continually caused us to go back to the roots of problems to examine the nature of those roots, not just the nature of the problem. I wish he were here to help us understand ourselves and our role right now.

Yes, SCOOP JACKSON was a special kind of a friend. When my wife Penny needed a friend to push me to the Senate gym, SCOOP became a cross between a medical doctor, family counselor, big brother. And the friendship extended throughout our family. Our oldest son, Charlie, and his daughter, Anna Marie, became very good friends over the last year. Charlie spent a weekend with the Jacksons in Everett, as Anna Marie's escort to her debutante ball. It was left to Anna Marie at the funeral service to remind us of how her dad's feet were bigger than hers, and often all over hers as they swept around the dance floor. Charlie's memories were only of the applause and appreciation of the audience for Washington's senior Senator and his daughter.

I thought I would never forgive SCOOP for his leadership this year in limiting outside earned income of his colleagues, especially when there was no similar effort with regard to unearned income. We felt the impact at home. And I doubt if Anna Marie has ever forgiven Charlie for bringing it up in their relationship.

We learned many things from our association with SCOOP and Helen and Anna Marie and Peter. I learned not as one learns from a teacher by instruction, but from a parent by observation. My favorite reminder of parenting is a "saying" that a former Minneapolis police officer had mounted in his bedroom: "The measure of how well you do as a father is how your children refer to you when speaking to a friend." This series of references to SCOOP by all his colleagues, in which I am honored to participate, should please him and his family to no end.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I should like to share with my colleagues a letter written by Mr. Sheldon Coleman, chairman of the Coleman Co., Inc. Mr. Coleman's letter, which was sent to approximately 50 publications in the recreation and leisure-time field, speaks admirably of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON's contributions to natural resource management.

I ask that Mr. Coleman's letter be printed in the Record.

The letter follows:

COLEMAN CO., INC.,
Wichita, Kans., September 20, 1983.

Mr. CLARE CONLEY,
Editor, Outdoor Life, New York, N.Y.

DEAR CLARE: Our Nation has benefited from the energies and talents of many public officials over more than two centuries. Some of these men and women have left an indelible imprint on the land they so loved. HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON, who died on September 1 at his home in Everett, Wash., was such a person.

Over four decades in Congress—including 31 years in the U.S. Senate—HENRY JACKSON provided thoughtful leadership in the fields of energy policy, defense and natural resource management. He was a man of high principles and high energy, and a true believer in America. He knew well the pressures of decisionmaking in the glare of the spotlight and the frustration of long hours spent on projects about which few seemed to care.

The recreation community has much to be grateful to "SCOOP" for today. Throughout his long career, he was a champion of the outdoors and of recreation. While still early in his career, he served as one of eight congressional Members of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (1958-62), an effort which contributed greatly to an expansion of recreational opportunities in the 1960's and 1970's and to the environmental consciousness of our Nation. "SCOOP" took an active role in the commission and was more centrally involved than any other single person in converting the group's recommendations into law and action.

Washington's senior U.S. Senator made his last formal appearance before a recreation audience in June 1983, at the American Recreation Coalition's

Forum. His message was simple: confrontational politics was jeopardizing the quality and quantity of recreation in America.

He gave eloquent testimony to the fruits of bipartisan labors in support of recreation during the 1960's and asked all recreation community leaders to work toward the creation of a new outdoor recreation commission which might refocus congressional attention on issues and needs.

As campers and boaters, as skiers and fishermen, as hikers and bikers, as wildlife photographers, and as motorcyclists, Americans who share the deep love of the outdoors HENRY JACKSON felt have already gained and will continue to benefit from his lifetime of service to the Nation. His advocacy of balanced management of our forests; of expansion of Federal, State, and local park systems; of providing a range of recreational opportunities from wilderness to intensive use and his ability to conceive and communicate farsighted programs combine to make "SCOOP" a man sorely missed and surely not forgotten.

Sincerely,

SHELDON COLEMAN.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, with the death of our friend and colleague, HENRY JACKSON, the U.S. Senate, as well as the entire Nation, has suffered a terrible loss.

HENRY JACKSON and I served together in the U.S. Senate for more than 30 years. He was among the finest, most honorable, and intelligent persons I have ever known.

I was attending meetings with members of the European Economic Community when I heard the news of Senator JACKSON's untimely death. In that setting, I could not help but reflect on the impact "SCOOP," as we all called him, had on the entire world.

"SCOOP's" love of freedom and of humanity extended beyond our borders. He sought to insure that all nations respected every individual's basic human right to leave a country where his religious or political beliefs are not respected. He shined the light of freedom in some of the darkest corners of this world.

Our friend, "SCOOP" JACKSON, brought the same vigor to issue of defending our own country and its bountiful resources. He had the honesty to recognize the world as it really is and the vision to work toward the goals to which we aspire.

Mr. President, "SCOOP" JACKSON was not only one of the giants of the free world. He was one of the rare Senators who made a special impact on this institution. Senators come and go, and we all have some kind of effect on the Senate.

It is unusual, however, to be correct in saying that the Senate was improved by the presence of a single Member. The

Senate is a better, a more thoughtful, and a more caring body because "SCOOP" JACKSON served here for 31 years.

Mr. President, I want to extend my heartfelt sympathies to Mrs. Jackson and the members of the Jackson family. We thank them for graciously sharing their husband and father with us.

His death is a great personal loss to me and I know that he will be missed by all of us who have had the opportunity to work closely with him.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, though words cannot adequately express the sense of loss we feel concerning the death of Senator JACKSON, I, nonetheless, ask unanimous consent that several eulogies which have appeared in the press be printed in the Record at the close of all eulogies by Senators.

These articles attempt to span the breadth of this man's impact on the Nation and the Senate, but most importantly, on each of those of us who were fortunate enough to feel that we knew HENRY M. JACKSON, the man * * * as well as the politician.

[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 2, 1983]

TO REPORTER FROM HOME, JACKSON WAS A REAL SWEETIE

(By Jeanne Edwards)

EVERETT.—It was always difficult to be an objective reporter covering Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. It was especially hard when I was the reporter from The Herald assigned several times to write about SCOOP in Washington, D.C., and in New York during his 1976 bid for the Presidency.

He was such a nice guy.

Although in April 1976 he was in the midst of a riproaring campaign to grab the Presidential nomination from Jimmy Carter, he took time daily to be concerned about the lady reporter from Everett whom he feared didn't know how to take care of herself in the Big Apple.

Secret Service men assigned to protect JACKSON finally got used to the Senator hauling me out of massive crowds into which I'd try to melt to get reactions to the Senator from Washington State. It was unsafe for a woman alone to mix with any New York City crowds, he repeatedly nagged. It sure made it hard to get an unbiased story with the subject acting as my guardian angel.

As we sped in a caravan across New York City the Sunday before the vital primary election, SCOOP sat on my left and New York City Mayor Abraham Beame sat on my right. I was trying to complete an interview for a story for Monday's editions. Beame couldn't quite grasp the fact that I was a reporter from SCOOP's hometown. Where were ABC and CBS? Beame wanted to know. And what the dickens was the Snohomish Valley that SCOOP kept referring to? Why would he want to talk about floods there on this important day?

Beame wanted to discuss the plight of Russian Jews and the political problems in New York City. Those were subjects on SCOOP's mind, too. Important ones.

But the Senator wanted to relax a few minutes and chat with someone who knew about the bridge over the "Stilly" and firsthand gossip about some of his Everett High School classmates.

That's the kind of guy the Senator was. In New York or in Washington, D.C., running for the office that was his lifelong dream, he always seemed more interested in home and hometown folks than in the national and international VIPs who peopled his life, day in, day out.

Reporting that Presidential primary was a series of struggles. It was a struggle for a reporter from Everett to be a member of the working press instead of a source for national newpeople.

JACKSON was a curiosity. He'd run a Presidential primary campaign in 1972. They knew all the SCOOP stories but the good-guy and warmonger images just didn't compute.

Was it true, they asked, that his sister named him "SCOOP" after a comic strip in *The Herald*? Was it true that as a kid the Senator won an award for never missing a delivery all the time he carried papers on a *Herald* route? Was it true that the money he collected for making speeches went into a fund that helped innumerable kids in the Everett area go to college? Was it true that he often came to Everett in the summer and led a quiet life with his wife and kids in a house near downtown—a house with no guards and no gates?

Yes, yes, and yes, I'd tell them. I told one national newsman that about the worst thing I knew for sure about SCOOP was that he was a holy terror of a back-seat driver, that he drove his drivers crazy when he interrupted any conversation to impatiently rattle off directions: "Turn right at this corner; no, turn left at this corner. No, no, not that lane."

The next-worst thing I knew about JACKSON was that he was demanding of his staff. Yet they were unquestionably loyal, frequently defending JACKSON's position. "SCOOP isn't a hawk; he isn't a dove. He just doesn't want this country to be a pigeon," said Don Donohue, the Senator's friend, bodyguard, and patient driver.

It was difficult to equate the hawkish Senator that some reporters portrayed with the rumpled, relaxed father who stopped everything during his critical New York Presidential primary campaign to celebrate son Peter's ninth birthday at Ringling Bros., Barnum & Bailey Circus at Madison Square Garden. The carnival was turned into a press circus as reporters jumped at the rare opportunity to portray a usually starchy Senator as a father at play.

It was difficult to equate the warmonger image with the good sport who gamely climbed astride an elephant that night because that's what Peter wanted to do on his birthday.

Those of us assigned to cover JACKSON routinely dealt with the Jackson paradox time and again:

JACKSON the hawk. JACKSON the concerned man whose greatest pleasure was in retelling stories about people like Seamus Kadrinka, whom he helped get out of a Siberian prison camp.

JACKSON, a strong supporter of arms buildup. JACKSON, the man who lectured his kids on the value of studying history and learning from it.

JACKSON won that New York campaign but lost in his bid for the Presidency. His staff members, by their own admission, took the end of that dream harder than JACKSON did.

With Carter as President, JACKSON returned to Washington and worked at the day-to-day tasks of a Senator. The defeat rankled a bit. Four years after the New York primary, he sat in his Maryland home, rumpled suitcoat off and rumpled brown sweater on, and reminisced:

"The President (Carter) used to call me once in a while to talk things over. But he doesn't anymore.

"There's nothing boring about this job. It's a killer to a lot of people but not to me. People ask, 'How can you stand it?' or 'Why don't you have a heart attack?' Well, if you enjoy what you're doing, you don't have to worry about that."

SCOOP makes it hard for this hometown reporter to write an objective, dispassionate story when my memories are of a gentle, kind man, a paradox who fought to the end for what he believed in and whose worst habit was back-seat driving.



[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News Tribune, Sept. 2, 1983]

SCOOP: A GIANT AMONG GIANTS

We in the Puget Sound area knew him so well, this neighborly, plain-spoken man, that it was often hard to sense his stature. Like people who live at the foot of a mountain, we could not appreciate the presence and force of this statesman who was so much a part of our lives without occasionally standing back and seeing how he dominated the greater landscape.

When we did stand back, we were in awe of HENRY JACKSON, in awe of his intelligence, his abilities, his integrity.

He was one of us, a son of our shores. Armed with little more than a northwesterner's devotion to hard work and an unyielding sense of decency, he went to do political battle with giants, and became a giant among them, a leader not only of the Senate in which he served but of the Nation and the free world. All the while, though, to us, he remained "SCOOP," the guy from down the street who looked more like a harried smalltown lawyer than one of the preeminent Americans of our time.

SCOOP twice sought the Presidency and twice failed. His defeats in those campaigns were blamed on what was called his lack of charisma. He didn't have a "golden Kazoo," one political analyst said. SCOOP's reply to that sort of observation was always that the American people wanted more than bells and whistles from a President. "I believe the country's looking for solutions," he once told The News Tribune, "and they're not looking for charisma as a solution." The public did itself a profound disservice by proving the Senator wrong.

But even though he was never President, SCOOP, in his methodical, decent, hard-working, undramatic way, left a legacy that will be the envy of many Presidents to come. He gave America strength and humanity, stature and maturity.

Yes, one had to stand back to appreciate SCOOP. We will have to stand back even more to appreciate how much we have lost with his passing.



[From The Tower, Catholic University, Sept. 9, 1983]

A MAN OF AND FOR HISTORY

(By Lisa Marchese)

HENRY MARTIN JACKSON has many honorable achievements to his name. Since his sudden and tragic death, much attention has been given to what he did throughout his distinguished career of public service. Senator JACKSON was deeply respected by his colleagues in Congress and he held the admiration of the world community at large. His constituency extended far beyond the borders of Washington State.

In many ways, Senator JACKSON's death concludes an important chapter in American political history. It was a chapter written by the ideology and will of one man. We cannot deny that SCOOP JACKSON will be painfully missed as an enduring and guiding political force. As we mourn the loss of this prominent statesman we cannot help but focus upon his life and his work. His accomplishments alone, however, are not what made his life meaningful. Those who knew SCOOP JACKSON know why he did what he did. They understand the driving force behind his actions and through them, his ideals must live on.

Strength of conviction and clarity of purpose were consummate to JACKSON's style. He had a vision far beyond short-term objectives which was always focused on his long-range goals. His image of America was never blurred for political expediency.

Senator JACKSON was an avid student of history and he saw the world from an historical perspective. He was one of the few remaining Members to have served before Pearl Harbor. He remembered all too well the travesties of World War II. He understood that freedom as we now know it could only be protected through military preparedness.

Throughout his career, he tried to make others understand this too. He once said, "I wonder sometimes whether the so-called peace movement may not be related to our American tendency to neglect the study of history. I wish every student could be exposed to a thorough study of that fascinating but shameful decade when Hitler was building the German war machine while the democracies were preaching disarmament and neglecting their military preparedness."

Senator JACKSON was seldom wrong in his assessments. Long before the Nation knew there would be an energy crisis, JACKSON warned of the inevitable and initiated efforts to create a strategic petroleum reserve. He never wavered in his support for Israel nor in her right to exist as a free democratic nation, even when it became politically unfashionable to do so. He was deeply concerned with human rights. Due to his efforts, thousands of Soviet Jews were able to emigrate from the Soviet Union. He was shocked but not surprised when the Soviets recently shot down a civilian aircraft on a commercial mis-

Senator JACKSON's foresight was based on hindsight as he knew we could learn from mistakes of the past. His approach to an issue or crisis always seemed to be the most viable. This was because he did his homework well and he understood why things were the way they were in the world.

Senator JACKSON was best known for his foreign policy expertise, however, he was also a leading congressional figure on various domestic issues. He wielded great influence in both these areas because he always knew the facts and his positions were always based on what he saw was in the best interests of the Nation. He lived for America and he was a true patriot. He dedicated his work to the preservation of our democratic way of life. SCOOP JACKSON loved people and he loved being a Senator not because of the power or the prestige but because he cared.

His worldview shaped his political philosophy. He couldn't be labeled as merely a liberal or a conservative. Furthermore, he never felt the need to re-define himself as a neoliberal or neoconservative to stay in vogue. He was never uncomfortable with his views because he was always true to himself. Senator JACKSON's ideology was a type of liberal-conservatism. Where most would see this as contradictory, JACKSON saw their necessary connection. He was believed to be a liberal because he wanted an active Federal Government to improve the life of the average American. Yet, he was considered conservative because he wanted a strong national defense.

To these categorizations JACKSON would simply say that if we believe in America and in what we stand for as a nation, then survival above all else must be our first priority. He believed there could be peace in the world and he was very idealistic, but he was an idealist without illusions.

Another political era has come to an end and another chapter of history has been written. As we look back we can remember a great man who did great things. There is much we can learn from the life of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. More than anything he showed us that we have the strength within ourselves to become better than what we are. Those who were inspired by him and loved him can carry on his work for they will never forget why SCOOP JACKSON strove endlessly in the strength of great will and determination to be his best and do his best the only way he knew how.



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times/Post-Intelligencer, Sept. 4, 1983]

A DECENT MAN—WHATEVER SCOOP JACKSON HAD WASN'T CHARISMA, BUT IT
WORKED

(By Rick Anderson)

A short man, he talked tall. War, missiles, shock troops, whatever might spread a little well-meaning paranoia around the Kremlin. SCOOP JACKSON did not practice my kind of politics, but he was my kind of politician.

There was a magazine piece I used to keep around. I took it out every so often and read it for a good laugh. It was a profile of the Senator. It said what a boring man SCOOP was.

A sawed-off Scandinavian with a closet full of lifeless black suits and matching wingtips, HENRY JACKSON's idea of a good time, he allowed, was to impetu-

ously drop canned crab into the bowl of tomato soup he had every day for lunch.

What else do you do for excitement, Mr. JACKSON?

Read.

And?

Some TV, maybe.

And?

Can you count sleeping in on Saturdays?

It was not a long article. It concluded that all work and no play had made SCOOP a dull boy. But what puzzled the writer was how this boy had gotten to the House, the Senate, and within spitting distance of the Oval Office. It worked, but whatever HENRY JACKSON had, it sure didn't sound like charisma.

Not, that is, as charisma is commonly, politically defined. If Ronald Reagan is the Great Communicator, SCOOP was the Little General, the guy who seemed to have to jump up on his toes and wave his sausage hands to be heard.

He was not one to be described in elegant, romantic tones or known to possess a charming knack for turning phrases. Churchill they'll remember for blood, sweat, and tears; SCOOP, for blood, bombs, and bombast.

Then why was I going into the voting booth all these years and pulling for HENRY JACKSON? What made me always hop aboard his steamroller that flattened Lloyd J. Andrews, Charlie Elicker, George M. Brown, and all the other Republicans he returned to oblivion?

Among the few superlatives used to describe HENRY JACKSON was extremist—ace quarterback for the Pentagon who, should he ever see the right opening, was sure to drop back and throw the bomb.

I was never certain that wasn't true. But as I stood time and again before those hallowed voting machines, I ruminated in my mind and then voted with my heart.

It's that last-second feeling, when everything whirs, beeps, and instantly computes. Fleetingly, you are left with the paramount question:

Is he, or is he not, a decent man?

In the years I've been writing for newspapers, I encountered a number of people who could not get help or satisfaction from their Senator, HENRY JACKSON. People who did not like—who indeed hated—him.

But what I encountered more often were people who were aided, quietly, privately, through the efforts of his office, his staff, and him.

I understand it may have something to do with being smalltown Norwegian, but JACKSON, I came to learn, had strong feelings about justice, fairplay, and what was right.

In politicians, I don't know of a quality more important.

So he was unexciting. He was unprofound. He dressed like Robert Hall and talked like Muzak Man.

They can have all that.

When the grave is full and the stone is up, let the inscription say:

Here lies a decent man.

For HENRY JACKSON, there'll be no hell to pay.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 7, 1983]

HUNDREDS ATTEND MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SENATOR JACKSON

(By Blaine Harden)

Senator HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON, who served in Congress for nearly 43 years before his death Thursday, was eulogized last night by his colleagues and friends as an honest, no-frills politician, who, more than any of his contemporaries, combined a passion for military strength with an unwavering tenderness toward the poor and disadvantaged.

"In an era of slick images and slack ideas, SCOOP JACKSON was a real man," said Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

"He mastered * * * the art of being a servant to a vast public * * * without being servile to any part of it," columnist George Will said.

"His decency placed him steadfastly in the corner of the underdog in American society," said Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO.

On a steamy September night, more than 1,000 people crowded into the National Presbyterian Church on Nebraska Avenue to listen as JACKSON, who died of a heart attack at 71, was praised as one of the most important and effective Members of the U.S. Senate in this century.

"He was the finest public servant I have ever known," said Will, a longtime friend of JACKSON's. Will said a portrait of JACKSON deserves to be hung in the Senate Chamber along with other "hall of fame" Senators such as Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Robert M. LaFollette, and Robert A. Taft.

Will said that a Senate hall of fame without JACKSON, whom he called "my hero," was as unthinkable as a baseball hall of fame without Babe Ruth.

In his eulogy, Kennedy, who served with JACKSON on the Senate Armed Services Committee, said that his colleague committed his life to a "strong military and to a just society." But he added that JACKSON never believed in paying for missiles "at the expense of a hungry child."

Referring to Will, who spoke before him at the memorial service, Kennedy said that on nonmilitary domestic issues, "SCOOP had such good sense that he always seemed to disagree with George."

Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who called JACKSON a "just" man who "knew the terrible danger in the age in which he lived," said it was fitting that JACKSON's last public act was a denunciation Thursday of the Soviet Union for shooting down a South Korean passenger jet.

Grenville Garside, who worked with the late Washington Senator as counsel to the Senate Energy Committee, recited a list of JACKSON's accomplishments. He mentioned that JACKSON was a key force behind Alaskan statehood, national wilderness legislation, the Environmental Protection Act, the creation of a strategic petroleum reserve and the formation of the Youth Conservation Corps.

"SCOOP's legacy touches our lives in many, many ways, Garside said.

Ben J. Wattenberg, an author, pollster, and campaign adviser to JACKSON's unsuccessful Presidential bids in 1972 and 1976, began his eulogy last night by saying that "SCOOP liked his own nickname." It was given to him by his sister when he was a boy in his hometown of Everett, Wash., because she

thought he looked like a cartoon-strip character in the newspaper that JACKSON delivered.

In the 5 days since JACKSON's death, Wattenberg said, he and others who knew the Senator well have been trying to come up with an appropriate memorial. But Wattenberg said he decided that no one memorial could suffice.

"SCOOP has his own memorial," Wattenberg said. It is, he said, a long list of legislation that has profoundly changed the way Americans live.



[From the New York Times, Sept. 3, 1983]

SENATOR ALMOST

Who, in 1956, was a leading candidate for the Vice Presidential spot on the Democratic ticket?

Who, in 1960, almost beat out Lyndon Johnson to become John Kennedy's running mate?

Who, in 1972, came in second behind George McGovern for the Democratic nomination?

Which Democrat, at the start of 1976, was running dead even in the polls with President Ford?

Whom did Senators once choose, overwhelmingly, when asked which of them was best qualified to be President?

The answer, in each case, is HENRY M. JACKSON, the Washington Democrat who died Thursday at the age of 71 after 42 years in Congress, 30 of them in the Senate. Indeed, SCOOP (thus dubbed, in childhood, for a cartoon character) JACKSON was so much and so long in the forefront of national politics that one wonders why he was not better known.

In recent years he was thought of as a neoconservative, or as just conservative, or as the last cold warrior. He surely was a leading Democratic hawk. He opposed the 1963 test-ban treaty, for instance. Of Vietnam he said, "If we don't stop Russia in Southeast Asia, we might as well sign a quit-claim deal to the rest of Asia and grant Soviet entry into the United States."

But he was not a political primitive. Yes, he started out as a hard-bitten prosecutor who pushed liquor out of Snohomish County, Wash. But he also quit the Senate Investigations Subcommittee to protest Joseph McCarthy's red-baiting. Yes, he pushed for the United States to build a supersonic transport. But he was a sensitive conservationist who also pushed for the first Environmental Protection Act. Yes, he campaigned against school busing. But he was a father of conservation corps programs for disadvantaged youth.

SCOOP JACKSON personified the industry and practicality of working people in his hometown of Everett. Small wonder he was reelected so often and so overwhelmingly. Still, as a national candidate, people judged him wooden, lacking charisma, and, what may have stung most, rigid.

"I'm not that," he said in 1975. "My ideology is very simple: 'Let's see what the problem is and what we need to do.' * * * I've been called a conservative by some, a liberal and a radical. But the main thing is, what are you getting done. I believe in trial and error. If something won't work, let's try something else."

SCOOP JACKSON did not make it to the White House, but his own words describe, proudly and honorably, the next best thing: a lifetime of industry and excellence in Congress.



[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Sept. 5, 1983]

DECENCY KNIT JACKSON'S PHILOSOPHY INTO A COHERENT WHOLE

(By Ben J. Wattenberg)

Senator HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON (D.-Wash.), who died at his home last week at age 71, was the most decent, professional, and idealistic man whom I have known in American political life. In a unique way those traits intertwined to create a legislative giant whose legacy here and around the world may well surpass that of many who held the Presidency—which is the job that he trained for, and surely deserved.

He was so un pompous that it was almost laughable. He was so unphony that it could be politically painful. He was a religious man—and it was pointed out to him that it would be helpful to allude to this in his campaign speeches. But he declined; that's private, he said.

He never took a dime for a speech. The money went directly (and quietly) into a scholarship fund. He cared deeply about his staff members and their problems. More than one of them regarded him as a father.

There are many decent men in the world, but SCOOP JACKSON had a personal decency with a political dimension. It ended up writ large on the international scene. Those who didn't know him, or where he came from, called him a cold warrior and a hawk. They thought him obsessed with weaponry.

In fact, as I say, he was an idealist. He was obsessed, all right—about indecency. He had fought fascists (the Silver Shirts) back when he was a young prosecutor in Washington State in the late 1930's. He was with the American forces that liberated the concentration camp at Buchenwald. He loathed totalitarianism, of the right and of the left, because it was indecent. He was not surprised that the Soviet Union was capable of shooting down a civilian airliner.

And so it came to pass that this man who some thought cared mostly about military hardware became the father of the human-rights movement.

There are arguments pro and arguments con about the particular efficacy of the Jackson amendment, which stipulated that the United States would not grant trade benefits to nations that did not allow free emigration.

But when all is said and done, and when all the charges and countercharges are set aside, two facts remain: Several hundred thousand people, Jews and non-Jews, were able to emigrate from the Soviet Union because of the Jackson amendment. And the United States went on record as saying that human rights mattered to us. We were prepared to reward those who were moving toward a recognition of human rights, and to punish those who would not.

In 1975, I visited Andrei Sakharov at his dacha outside Moscow. The Jackson amendment was controversial then, as it is now. I asked him what he thought about it.

"JACKSON knows how to make things happen," he said. "He is our champion."

The bedrock premise of the Jackson amendment has energized much of American foreign policy ever since, and for the better. Finally, we Americans said that we care about decency.

JACKSON cared enough about what his politics meant: to become a consummate professional politician. He never lost touch with the voters back home in Washington State. He raised plenty of money, and raised it early. He campaigned for Democrats all over the country, including those whose politics did not always appeal to him. He knew that you couldn't get help unless you gave help.

He was elected to the Senate in 1952 with 56 percent of the vote. That was too close. In the next five elections he averaged 72 percent of the vote. One year he got 82 percent. He rather liked that one.

JACKSON's decency drove his idealism, and his professionalism bolstered his idealism. He ended up at a unique spot in the firmament of United States and global politics. He was a liberal on domestic affairs; that was the decent thing. And he was the man who understood that we had to be strong if we were to promote the values of decency around the world.

It is the tragedy of recent American politics that such a position—combining domestic and international decency, which is the essence of what most Americans believe—has had such a difficult time finding a home in SCOOP's party, let alone in the other party.

However, the battle is not over. There are millions of people out there who believe in what SCOOP believed. They call themselves Jackson Democrats.



[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News Tribune, Sept. 2, 1983]

SCOOP—THE MAN FOR ALL SEASONS—HARDWORKING, SINCERE, UNSWERVING

(By John Komen)

Forever, it seemed, it was "Maggie and SCOOP." The news releases would flow in a steady stream from Washington, D.C.—"Senators Warren G. Magnuson and HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON announced today * * *" and there would be another shipyard contract, another Federal grant to the University of Washington, another something for the State—and always the joint credit shared by Maggie and SCOOP.

The voters broke up the team when they retired Maggie in the election of 1980. And now SCOOP is gone, dead of a heart attack at his home high on the bluff overlooking Everett's Port Gardner Bay.

Twice that home on Grand Avenue had been seriously talked about as a possible Western White House. Once, in 1975, a newspaper displayed a photograph of the Jackson home juxtapositioned over a picture of the White House in Washington, D.C. SCOOP JACKSON was then making his second try at winning the Democratic Presidential nomination, and his chances looked good.

At least, they appeared better than in 1972, when the times were not ready for SCOOP JACKSON as President. The peace movement had the Democratic Na-

tional Convention in its grip, and JACKSON "the hawk" was unacceptable. George McGovern became the Democratic nominee, and JACKSON almost immediately geared up for 1976. But again it was not to be. This time the party chose Jimmy Carter, and JACKSON's hopes of ever becoming President were gone forever.

Actually, the closest JACKSON had come to the Presidency occurred a decade earlier. In 1960, John F. Kennedy had JACKSON at the very top of his list of potential Vice Presidential running mates. Had Kennedy followed through, and not chosen political expediency and Lyndon B. Johnson, HENRY M. JACKSON would have succeeded to the Presidency upon J. F. K.'s assassination in 1963.

His home State seemed to accept it as a matter of course that this smalltown boy from Puget Sound was of Presidential stature. They knew SCOOP JACKSON for what he was—hardworking, sincere, unswerving in his dedication to a strong America. Washingtonians just assumed that was what Presidents were made of. To them JACKSON personified the American ethic, and so it seemed only natural that the Presidency would beckon.

Nor were SCOOP JACKSON's fellow Washingtonians unduly surprised when the prize never became his, for they knew that the chances were always long. Living out here in the far Northwest corner of the United States, they understood how little this State figured in the machinations of the power brokers back East. It was always a matter of some pride and no little amazement that one of Washington's own had broken through that Eastern bias and risen so far.

It was perhaps JACKSON's steadiness of purpose that so impressed others beyond Washington's borders. Here it was taken for granted. But in a world of political expediency where men were constantly testing the winds to adjust their course, SCOOP's solid ideals came to be recognized as something of real value to America.

It became almost routine for thoughtful men to turn to JACKSON for guidance and reassurance when times were particularly difficult. Ernest Cuneo, a national columnist, once called him "a man for all seasons."

"In the deepening winter of our country's affairs," Cuneo wrote in 1974, "HENRY M. JACKSON has demonstrated he already is a very great de facto President of the United States."

He had his detractors, of course. The 1972 Presidential campaign in his own home State can be remembered for its particular bitterness toward SCOOP JACKSON by many of his fellow Democrats. They were McGovern Democrats, out to take away JACKSON's home State favorite-son delegates, and they hated as only fanatics can. They campaigned with a venom that still lingers among some of the old peace-movement protesters of that day. To them, JACKSON was a thunderbolt-hurling warlord, a minion of Boeing and the CIA.

It was a simplistic view, a refusal to recognize that JACKSON was many other things besides a "hawk." There was JACKSON, the liberal proponent of civil rights; JACKSON, the environmentalist; JACKSON, the believer in education, and JACKSON, the quietly compassionate human being.

For years, until disclosure laws required otherwise, it wasn't known that he had endowed thousands of dollars to a scholarship fund for underprivileged

youngsters. He had quietly contributed every cent received in honorariums for speaking appearances.

You could disagree with JACKSON's views. You could even dislike him. But even his most fervent enemies would have to admit that HENRY M. JACKSON served his country and its people with great distinction.



[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 8, 1983]

LAST OF A BREED * * *

(By Joseph Kraft)

Any number of Senators can replace SCOOP JACKSON in such specialized areas as energy, defense, civil liberties, and Great Power politics. But nobody else can draw all these themes together in ways that make things happen.

So his untimely death represents a genuine national loss. The more so as it comes against a general decline in the caliber of public servants.

The Scandinavian heritage marked JACKSON in palpable fashion. He was a self-reliant individual, not, as so many politicians, a groupie. He liked to work things out for himself. While he was not a subtle or deep thinker, his convictions, once established, held firm.

Much fuss has been made as to whether he was a liberal or a conservative. In fact, his shaping political experience was the New Deal. Like all New Dealers, he believed in the power of government to solve problems. He looked to government to redress the balance between rich and poor, to protect the rights of labor and minorities, to make available cheap power and abundant water and recreation. He also counted on government to manage national security in a robust way.

Because his views were so steadfast, he developed over time a personal constituency of extraordinary depth and reach. He won six terms as a Congressman from the State of Washington, and six as a Senator—the last with 69 percent of the vote. No one was closer to the Jewish community. Nor to labor. So unlike almost all other Senators and Congressmen, JACKSON did not merely speak for himself. He commanded big battalions.

His New Deal connections, moreover, carried him beyond narrow support of the congressional prerogatives to a Presidential perspective. He knew the ins and outs of the Federal agencies better than most of their leaders. He sought the White House twice himself, and worked hand in glove with two Democratic Presidents—Kennedy and Johnson. A Republican, Richard Nixon, offered him the post of Secretary of Defense.

Because he had troops and a feel for the Presidential viewpoint, he exerted extraordinary influence on the course of events. He practically determined energy policy. He shaped basic legislation on the environment and the development of water resources. His insistence on tying relations with Russia to explicit guarantees on Jewish emigration frustrated the policy of détente undertaken by Henry Kissinger under Nixon and Ford.

Most important, he personified bipartisan support for a strong defense. Other Senators—notably John Tower, the Texas Republican who now heads the Armed Services Committee, and Sam Nunn, the Georgia Democrat—set as

much store by efficient military force as JACKSON. But he alone crossed ideological lines. He fostered trust between the Pentagon and the unions. He kept labor patriotic and the generals in touch with ordinary people. He thus served as a potent factor in the building of national consensus.

Had he lived slightly longer, the true extent of his influence might have been made manifest. For the chances are the Democrats will carry the Senate in 1984. JACKSON would have become chairman of the Armed Services Committee. He would have dominated the Appropriations Committee, for the likely chairman, John Stennis of Mississippi, is over 80 and not in the pink. The combination would have given JACKSON far more power than any Senator has held since Richard Russell some 30 years ago.

As it is, he is the last of a breed. New Senators are made on television, and in an age where ideological fashion is turned against government. They do not build loyalties quietly from within. They go for the evening news, usually by profiling themselves, from right or left, against the powers that be. More and more, the Senate is a collection of egos.

Leadership in the Senate, accordingly, has lost its appeal to men of large views and high ability. Howard Baker, the majority leader, is stepping down in large part because the petty quarrels of the Senate afford him scant springboard for the Presidency. John Tower is quitting at least in part because of wounds sustained in a nasty debate over the MX missile last month.

The corrosive forces at work in the Senate operate throughout government. The quality of Cabinet officers, and Governors, and mayors, has slipped. Private satisfaction exerts, particularly for intelligent people, a stronger appeal than public glory.

Just why is hard to say. There seems to be, as Albert Hirschman has pointed out, a kind of "private-public cycle." "Societies," he writes in his fine work "Shifting Involvements," "are in some way predisposed toward vacillation between periods of intense preoccupation with public issues and almost total concentration on private improvement."

If so, the frustration fostered by selfishness will eventually breed a new realization that the "pursuit of happiness" means a quest for public good. When that happens, we may see again the likes of HENRY JACKSON.



[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 8, 1983]

* * * AND HERO

(By George F. Will)

Painted on the walls of the Senate reception room are portraits of the five men who were selected by a special committee, a quarter of a century ago, to constitute a kind of Senate hall of fame. The portraits are of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, LaFollette, and Taft. There is no more space on the walls of that room, but there is a nonfunctional door. That door should be removed, and the wall filled in, and adorned with a portrait of a sixth Senator. A Senate hall of fame without HENRY MARTIN JACKSON is as unthinkable as Cooperstown without George Herman Ruth.

A silly person once said that only silly persons have heroes. But only exceptionally small persons will not pay homage to the exceptionally large persons among us. Heroes make vivid the values by which we try to live. I say, unabashedly, and with many others: HENRY JACKSON was my hero.

Because he was magnificently uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, dull persons considered him unexciting. But discerning persons by the millions recognized that his kind of character is as 'exciting as it is rare. Persons who, under the pressure of fashion, are as flexible as fly rods found JACKSON incomprehensible. They came to the absurd conclusion that he had departed from the liberal tradition.

He was a pioneer of environmentalism. He was the preeminent champion of civil rights. He fought for the full domestic agenda and authored legislation that put teeth into U.S. pronouncements on behalf of Jews and others persecuted by the Soviet regime. And if JACKSON's proposals for substantial force reductions had been adopted, we might have had arms limitation agreements that actually limit arms.

The ironic truth is that JACKSON was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face toward adversaries.

JACKSON was an anchor against weariness, wishful thinking and apostasy in his party, and his country. He nurtured in this Republic something without which no republic can long endure: a sense that problems are tractable. To be in his presence was to experience the wholesome infection of a reviving spirit. This was especially remarkable because he, more than any contemporary, looked unblinkingly at, and spoke uncomfortably about, the terrors of our time. He taught less clear-sighted, less brave persons how to combine realism and serenity.

He missed the ultimate prize of our politics, perhaps because he lacked the crackling temperament that marks persons who burn on the surface with a hard, gemlike flame. If his political metabolism seemed uncommonly calm, that is because he had the patience of a mature politician—a gift for planning, thirst for detail, and a sense of ripeness in issues. He had a flame, but he had depth in which he kept it.

In committees and on the Senate floor, he was a cannon loaded to the muzzle with knowledge born of diligence. His unrivaled effectiveness was a rebuke to the less industrious and a refutation of the theory that in politics fancy footwork is necessary and sufficient.

A legislature is a face-to-face society, where character and moral force tell. What JACKSON did in committees and on the floor was awesome. But it was only a small fraction of the work he did during four decades of 18-hour days, working with one Member after another, one Member at a time, building coalitions of commonsense.

I remember a day, nearly a decade ago, when I went panting along in the wake of JACKSON on a campaign swing from Washington to Philadelphia to Shreveport and back. When I was decanted from the little plane after midnight, I was a broken shell of my former self. HENRY JACKSON, twice my age and fresh as a tulip, bounded off into the night.

His legendary energy flowed as much from his spirit as from his physiology. His biography is an essay on the sources of American vitality. He was the son of immigrants, and of the American West. He had the stamina of parents who crossed an ocean and then a continent, and he had the optimism of his region.

For longer than I have been alive, Congress has been embellished by his presence. And for longer than I live, public life shall be enriched by the radiating force of his character. Why? Consider.

If you wonder who real leaders are, find out who has real followers. By real followers I mean persons who follow a leader onto a path of life, who adopt careers where they navigate by stars he has taught them to see. The social geology of this city is layer upon layer of persons pulled into public life by the example of lives worth emulating. Today, in numerous public offices, and in law and journalism, there is a thick layer of HENRY JACKSON's men and women.

There are those, and they are legion, who call themselves "Jackson Democrats." I can say with absolute authority that there is such a thing as a "Jackson Republican."

HENRY JACKSON mastered the delicate balance of democracy, the art of being a servant to a vast public without being servile to any part of it. He was the finest public servant I have known.



CONSTITUENTS DIDN'T KNOW HIM PERSONALLY, STILL FEEL VOID

(By Ned Carrick)

The common people—who knew Senator HENRY JACKSON mostly by reputation, the people he once delivered newspapers to—felt the same loss this morning as did JACKSON's close friends and political colleagues.

Everett's downtown, still waking-up for the business day, was quiet and mournful, and the early arrivals of the regular coffee-and-donut crowd expressed unanimous feelings of grief and sadness.

"This is an awful shock," said Frank Taylor, sipping coffee with fellow GTE employee Fred Hanenburg at Karl's Bakery on Wetmore Avenue.

"This is a loss to the State and the country," Hanenburg added. "And he's put a lot into this county."

Four women, employees of nearby businesses and professional offices who were seated in another booth, agreed that JACKSON's death is a major loss to the State and Nation.

"I was in deep shock. I didn't think we would ever lose him," said Sharon Michel.

"He was a good balance and took strong stands when they were needed," added Donna Wirt.

Dottie Seigal, whose husband is a retired military man and who has two sons in the military, said she feels JACKSON was a key figure in keeping this country strong.

"He could make a decision immediately when it was needed," she said.

Having learned of the Senator's death only this morning, Betty Knight said she was "still trying to digest the fact that he's gone."

In Lynnwood, Judy Schlegel, a clerk at the Fred Meyer auto licensing window, said, "It's terrible. It's going to be a great loss. It's not going to be easy to find anybody to replace him, that's for sure."

Kristie Bolding, Schlegel's coworker, said: "I think it's going to be really bad for the State. It's going to have an effect on the economy. He had a lot of power and authority and he could do things somebody else new won't be able to do."

Ron Peluso of Lynnwood said he was shocked when he picked up his morning newspaper to learn JACKSON had died. Just the night before, he heard JACKSON talking on television about the Korean Air Lines jet that was shot down.

"He was definitely an asset to all of us," Peluso said. "He'll be missed."

Ed Soulds, a Federal Government worker from Lynnwood, said it would be "very difficult to replace" JACKSON. "I think it's going to be a tremendous loss to the Pacific Northwest."

Jewell Hartnell, a retired nurse from Edmonds, never met JACKSON but felt she knew him better than many people. Hartnell's roommate for many years, May Moore, died last June at age 100. Moore had been a close friend of the JACKSONS and each year since they had married the Senator sent Moore a Christmas card with a portrait of his family, Hartnell said. The collection was one of Moore's prized possessions.

"I got to know him that way," Hartnell said. "I felt very bad about it. I think he was a great Senator."

On Colby Avenue in Everett, at Rick's Donut and Coffee Shop, Jim Bradley, an Everett Mall clothing-store employee, added his feeling of shock.

"He was pretty much a critic of the Soviet Union," Bradley said as he read Thursday's Herald account of the downing of the Korean jet. "That is a bad business," he said of the air disaster.

Nearby, dentist Harold Fey noted that JACKSON was a "very dedicated man."

"He served his country well and he had time to visit with the people. He listened," Fey said.

"He will be sorely missed," added Don Wallin, an auto parts salesman. "He was a dedicated man."

Al Cooper, a plumbing and heating tradesman, said JACKSON's death is "very definitely a loss to this country."

"He was a grassroots person," Cooper said. "I didn't always agree with what he said—but, then, we shouldn't always agree all the time. This is very definitely a loss to the country."

Walking to her job at a Colby Avenue bank, Barbara Lindberg described JACKSON's death as a "great loss."

"We've lost a people person," she said. "It is a great loss to our State and to the Nation. He had real insight to issues."

"He was Mr. Everett."

[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 2, 1983]

FELLOW POLITICIANS SAY OF SCOOP—NOBODY ELSE LIKE HIM

(By Peter Callaghan)

EVERETT.—Flags flying at half-mast throughout Washington State today were the visible signs of tribute to Senator HENRY JACKSON. State political leaders and friends honored him with their words.

Gov. John Spellman, who ordered the traditional sign of mourning late Thursday night, called Democrat JACKSON a "great patriot who fervently believed in and lived the highest ideals of our American way of life."

"People throughout the world knew him as a defender of freedom and an enemy of tyranny," the Republican Governor said in an official statement issued moments after the announcement of JACKSON's death.

"Senator JACKSON was a strong and effective advocate of the best interests of our State and our Nation," Spellman said. "He was a respected leader in both national and foreign affairs. The people of Washington mourn his passing."

Paul O'Connor, the Governor's press secretary, said Spellman has directed that all flags in the State be flown at half-mast beginning immediately and lasting until after JACKSON's funeral.

Former U.S. Senator Warren Magnuson, contacted late Thursday at his Seattle home, said the shock of JACKSON's death left him almost speechless.

"I always thought of SCOOP as indestructible," Magnuson said. "He kept good care of himself and he worked hard.

"I'm very distressed—both Germaine and I are," he said. "We were not only colleagues but friends."

Magnuson preceded JACKSON to Congress and was the State's senior Senator until his defeat in 1980. While in the Senate, JACKSON and Magnuson complemented each other politically—Magnuson as the expert on domestic affairs, JACKSON as the master of foreign policy.

"Our spheres of influence covered everything," Magnuson said.

Magnuson gave testament to JACKSON's prestige as an expert on foreign affairs and defense.

"All the Senate would go to him for advice," Magnuson said. "Oh, they're going to miss him. * * * I'm going to miss him."

He called JACKSON prophetic.

"He'd size up the situation, and they'd take his word," Magnuson said. "He was quite concerned about the marines in Lebanon: He said that would be a disaster, and it was.

"But he wasn't an 'I told you so' kind of person," Magnuson said.

JACKSON was well liked in the Senate and able to help solve the problems of the State and the region because of his ability to work with other Senators, Magnuson said.

"If there was a problem in the State, people would listen," he said.

Washington State will miss his prestige and his seniority," Magnuson said of JACKSON.

Representative Al Swift, the Bellingham Democrat who now holds JACKSON's old seat in the Second Congressional District, said that the Senator's great

love for and knowledge of Everett and Snohomish County gave him perspective on national and international issues.

"I had dinner with (Seattle mayor) Charles Royer Saturday," said a saddened Swift, who was vacationing on Guemus Island near Anacortes. "I told him then that if there were no health problems, that I thought SCOOP might run again and would win again (in 1988)."

Four members of the State's congressional delegation who received the news in Tokyo expressed shock and surprise.

The four are on a good will educational mission to Japan sponsored by the Japan-American Society of Washington.

"We're all shocked and deeply sorrowed at the news," said Representative Rod Chandler of Redmond by telephone from Tokyo. "It's a terrible loss to all of us—Democrats and Republicans alike."

"It's fair to say a political era in the State of Washington has passed on," Chandler said.

Representatives Joel Pritchard (R-Seattle), Mike Lowry (D-Seattle), and Sid Morrison (R-Yakima), all spoke of the kindness JACKSON showed to them when they entered Congress as freshman lawmakers.

"Everyone in the delegation looked to him for leadership," Chandler said. "That's lost. One heartbeat stops, and we lose much more than just one man."

Republican Morrison said JACKSON considered State Congressmen from both parties part of the team.

"He called me the night of my election in 1980 when it became obvious I would be part of the team and welcomed me aboard," Morrison said. "He was most generous with his staff. He shared everything * * * including his home. He went out of his way to make us feel welcome."

Lowry said JACKSON was a famous political campaigner, working hard for Democratic candidates. But once the election was over, JACKSON became a statesman, Lowry said.

"He had many doors open to him that he made available to anyone in the congressional delegation," Lowry said. "It was a tremendous advantage to be from the same State as SCOOP."

Lowry said legislation to designate State wilderness areas and make rules regarding its use was at the top of the delegation's list of goals for the next session. Its passage now is clouded.

"JACKSON was a key because of his good relationship with both Republicans and Democrats in the Senate," Lowry said. "Losing someone with SCOOP's power makes it more difficult to accomplish our agenda."

Pritchard, who served with JACKSON for 11 years, called JACKSON a legend. He said the shock of his death was heightened by JACKSON's appearance of health.

"When I think of SCOOP, I think of someone who was always on the job—Saturday, Sunday, always," Pritchard said. "He was going like a 30-year-old when he was 70."

"During the last campaign, we were flying back to the State together," Pritchard remembered. "I asked him, 'For heaven's sake, you have no serious challenge this year, can't you ease off a little?'"

"He said, 'At my age, you can't change your ways.'"

Representative Wayne Ehlers, speaker of the Washington House of Representatives, said, "I don't think anyone knew he had a heart problem * * *. He was so energetic. People who tried to keep up with him were amazed at him."

Ehlers was set to meet with JACKSON this week to discuss possible congressional action regarding the Washington Public Power Supply System.

"Everyone assumed Senator JACKSON was going to take the lead on it," Ehlers said. "This isn't going to help."

Ehlers said a tribute was paid to JACKSON's knowledge of foreign affairs just Thursday. After Soviet fighters shot down a Korean passenger liner, the national news media sought out JACKSON's comments.

"People always wanted his reaction," Ehlers said. "We lose that as a State and as a Nation."

"It's such a big loss—a real loss for our party and our State," State Democratic Chairwoman Karen Marchioro told the Associated Press.

"SCOOP and I became close friends, and he helped me so much. I feel real, real bad about this. He was already helping us make plans for the 1984 elections."



[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 2, 1983]

MILESTONES WERE MANY IN HENRY JACKSON'S CAREER

Some milestones in the life of HENRY MARTIN JACKSON:

Born in Everett on May 31, 1912.

Was graduated from Everett High School in 1930.

Received a University of Washington law degree in 1935.

Practiced law with Everett's Black and Rucker firm from 1936 to 1938.

Declared his candidacy for Snohomish County prosecuting attorney in July 1938, saying, "My duty under the oath of office is clear-cut and well-defined and I will do my best to comply with such oath of office and the duties pertaining to it."

Elected prosecutor in November 1938, after a then-innovative campaign of door-to-door canvassing by the candidate and volunteers. The 26-year-old proved that he meant what he said about complying with the duties of office, quickly launching raids on illegal liquor sellers and gambling joints. He acknowledged that he had been offered payoffs to lay off, but, in what would be a pattern of his career, he refused to be swayed from the straight and narrow.

Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in November 1940. He became an early backer of publicly owned electric utilities.

Elected to the U.S. Senate in his first statewide race in 1952, unseating Harry P. Cain, Republican incumbent. JACKSON was assigned to work on a committee headed by Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin, who was conducting a witch hunt for Communists in Government. JACKSON took a minor role in opposing McCarthy's excesses and voted for censure in December 1954. Soon after, JACKSON was hospitalized and doctors attributed his health problems to tension. He began a daily regimen of exercise that helped keep him fit in years to come. He continued his diligent work habits and built a liberal

record of supporting Federal spending for education, welfare, health care, and dams.

Pushed by a number of party leaders and the press as a potential Democratic Vice Presidential candidate in the weeks leading up to the party's 1956 convention. One magazine called him the West's top hope. But when Presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson threw the choice open, JACKSON was not nominated.

Reelected to the Senate in November 1958 by 300,000 votes. He returned to the Senate to concentrate more on questions of national defense.

Withheld his support for John F. Kennedy's Presidential bid until the last minute as another push for JACKSON as a Vice Presidential candidate developed. Senator Warren Magnuson switched his support from Lyndon B. Johnson to Kennedy to help JACKSON get the Vice Presidential spot. Kennedy chose L. B. J. as his running mate, but got a reluctant JACKSON to become chairman of the Democratic National Committee. JACKSON quit the position, one he never really liked, before Kennedy's inauguration.

Married to Helen Hardin of Albuquerque, N. Mex., on Dec. 16, 1961. The couple would have a daughter, Anna Marie, on Feb. 7, 1963, and a son, Peter Hardin, on Apr. 3, 1966.

Reelected to the Senate in 1964 by 538,000 votes.

Introduced legislation that led, in 1968, to creation of the North Cascades National Park.

Achieved perhaps his greatest national legislative victory with passage of the National Environmental Policy Act in 1969, the first major piece of environmental legislation.

Won Senate reelection in 1970 with 83 percent of the vote.

Formally announced his candidacy for Presidency on Nov. 19, 1971. He described himself as "a law, order, and justice man" and said that "putting people back to work must rank as a key priority."

Gave up his campaign for the Presidency, after a series of disastrous showings in primaries and depletion of campaign funds, on May 3, 1972.

Was rated one of the two top contenders for the 1976 Democratic nomination in mid-1975.

Won the Massachusetts primary on Mar. 2, 1976, taking 23 percent of the vote, but finished third in the Florida primary a week later and dropped out of active campaigning after Jimmy Carter beat him in Pennsylvania.

Reelected to the Senate in 1976 with 74 percent of the vote.

Helped keep the proposed SALT II nuclear arms limitation treaty negotiated by the United States and the Soviet Union from reaching the Senate floor for a ratification vote in 1979.

Reelected in 1982 with 69 percent of the vote.

Cast his 11,000th rollcall vote, as he helped keep financing for nerve gas production in the Pentagon's 1984 authorization bill, in July 1983. Colleagues gave him an ovation to mark the occasion.

Made his fourth trip to China in August, getting a warm reception from Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping.

Died in his Everett home, Sept. 1, 1983.

[From the Olympia (Wash.) Olympian, Sept. 2, 1983]

PLAIN FOLKS RECALL JACKSON AS FRIEND

(By Patrick Connolly)

EVERETT, WASH. (AP).—Plain folks recalled a past with a powerful friend and expressed concern about a future without him when they reflected today on Senator HENRY JACKSON's death.

They said that he rose to power without forgetting his hometown roots in Everett. He hobnobbed with the mighty without forgetting the neighbors, they said.

He was always good for a handshake when he brought his family into a local restaurant for brunch.

"Every year I got a personal Christmas card from him," said Steve Davis, 24, a LaConner police officer who was Washington State's national Boy's Club "Boy of the Year" in 1977. That's when he went to Washington, D.C., and met "SCOOP."

Davis said, "SCOOP established his career but he kept his ties at home."

Larry Hart's mother went to school with JACKSON and Hart, 47, said he agrees with what his mother told him—JACKSON was honest and "always for the working man."

"It was a shock to hear he died. I've always voted for him. He was a good man," said Hart, a bowling alley employee.

Michelle Miller, a cocktail waitress in an Everett hotel, said she met him several times when he brought his family in for Sunday dinner. "I didn't get to know him, but he seemed like a nice guy," she said.

JACKSON's absence spells less clout for Washington State in general and Everett in particular.

Everett was in the running along with Seattle as the possible home port for a Navy task force eventually to be based in Puget Sound, said Chuck Pederson, an Everett taxicab driver. But without JACKSON, "I don't think the Navy will come here," said Pederson.

Washington State lost its last vestige of Senate seniority with JACKSON's death, noted Stephen Conner, 24, an Everett restaurant clerk. The State's senior Senator is now Slade Gorton, a first-term Republican.

"As far as seniority, we'll be up a creek for a few years," said Conner.

Anne Renfro, an Everett bartender, said JACKSON's office "helped get me going in the right direction" when she once asked him to straighten out a State industrial accident claim for her former husband. "I was very upset to hear he died," she said.

So was Tom Upshaw, 24, a marine electrician who grew up in Everett. He called JACKSON's death "a total loss.

"I felt it inside. I didn't know him but I used to bicycle past his house to go fishing. It's a loss to everybody," he said.

[From the Olympia (Wash.) Olympian, Sept. 2, 1983]

HENRY M. JACKSON, GREAT AMERICAN

At times, noting his inflexibility on certain issues, HENRY M. JACKSON would describe himself as a "stubborn Norwegian."

Norwegian by ancestry he was, but in a career that climbed from a newspaper delivery boy in Everett to highly respected senior U.S. Senator, he was a great American.

Even those who bitterly opposed some of his social policies voted for him because they knew that in one area, love of country and the desire to keep it strong, there was no one who surpassed "SCOOP" JACKSON.

It is ironic, and tragic, that a heart attack felled the Senator at the moment of crisis over the shooting down of the Korean passenger plane. His last public statements were on this issue and surely by this morning the President, the Pentagon, the State Department, and the people would have been calling Senator JACKSON to get his counsel. It had happened so many times over so many years—"Let's hear what SCOOP thinks about this."

Beyond the loss of a wise and experienced Senator though, many, particularly in this State, feel personal grief. No matter how much time Senator JACKSON spent in the power centers of the world, when he came back among his relatives and friends here in our Washington, he became "old shoe," ready to listen to hometown problems.

The measure of a man is how much he will be missed when he is gone. HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON will be missed all the way from the world's capital cities to the smallest crossroads in his home State.

But he left a legacy of love for and service to his country and State that should serve as an inspiration to those who must now try to take his place.



[From the Olympia (Wash.) Olympian, Sept. 2, 1983]

WASHINGTON HAS LOST POWER AND A FRIEND

(By David Ammons)

With "SCOOP" JACKSON's unexpected death Thursday night Washington State lost a powerful, silver-tongued advocate in the Nation's Capital, a master politician and back-slapping friend.

His death, coupled with the 1980 defeat of his longtime colleague and friend Warren G. Magnuson, marked the end of a political era—an era of persuasion politics, porkbarrel and power.

Their one-two punch, coupled with a powerful House delegation, gave the Evergreen State what many observers called the strongest single delegation in Congress.

SCOOP and Maggie delivered. For years, Washington residents got back more Federal dollars than they paid out in taxes.

Democrat HENRY M. JACKSON had a national and even international reputation as an anti-Communist foe of the Soviet Union, as an outspoken ally of Israel and as a supporter of a strong defense.

His two runs for the White House, his onetime chairmanship of the Democratic Party and his frequent appearances on network television kept him in the limelight and put Washington on the map.

Even when the Democrats lost control of the Senate in 1980, he remained a power to reckon with, frequently consulted by the Reagan administration and the majority Republicans.

JACKSON was ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee and had strong influence in foreign affairs, energy, environment, budget, and other issues. His legislation created the Environmental Protection Agency now headed by another home State boy, William Ruckelshaus.

Between JACKSON and freshman Senator Slade Gorton, Washington State could "work the system" in the Capitol, with JACKSON retaining his power to sway colleagues in both parties and Gorton enjoying his instant role as member of the majority.

Defense contracts and military appropriations, so crucial to a State so dependent on defense, regularly went Washington's way. Research grants rolled in, particularly at the University of Washington.

JACKSON was known as the Senator from Boeing by both critics and admirers for the way he looked at the interests of the home State aerospace firm.

Washington was often chosen as a pilot State for various Federal programs.

But for many Washington residents, he was simply "the Senator," the son of Norwegian emigrants, a man who could shuck his suit jacket and pump hands at the plant gates, a man who would pound the podium and rail against the Soviets or inflation or other bugaboos.

JACKSON, the cosmopolitan who moved in elite circles and dined with kings and presidents, could enjoy a beer with the boys at the union hall or walk the waterfront of his beloved Everett.

SCOOP JACKSON was a Democrat—and often a partisan one—but voters elected him 12 times to the House and Senate, always with a bipartisan landslide sendoff. Elections became more like coronations.

Power, and a friend: that's what Washington lost.



[From the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman Review, Sept. 3, 1983]

JACKSON WILL BE MISSED

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON was more than an enormously talented man. He also was a very dedicated one.

In a political career that spanned more than 40 years, Washington State's senior U.S. Senator served both his State and Nation with distinction.

He was one of the most effective and respected Members of the Congress.

In his death Thursday at age 71, our Nation lost a political giant; whose experience and influence will not be replaced easily.

JACKSON worked with nine Presidents in a congressional career that began in 1940. The Democrat spent six terms in the House and was elected last year to his sixth term in the Senate.

Through the years, he offered his constituents an interesting study in contrasts.

Though he received mostly liberal ratings from the various special interest groups, his hard-line stands on national security issues earned him the admiration of many Republicans and conservatives.

He was an expert on national defense and an outspoken advocate of military preparedness.

He was, however, a man of peace.

Mutual arms reductions were a JACKSON priority long before nuclear weapons struck the public consciousness. As a Member of the House in 1951, JACKSON sponsored a resolution calling on the United Nations to pursue "an effective and enforceable system of worldwide disarmament."

Such an agreement, he said, should cover conventional and biological weapons, chemical agents and atomic and hydrogen bombs—the same weapons that concern us today.

And JACKSON's commitment to meaningful arms reductions never wavered.

In 1979, he flatly stated that the SALT II treaty negotiated by the Carter administration did not go far enough in achieving genuine arms cuts. He even accused the administration of following a policy of "appeasement."

In 1982, JACKSON again was the driving force behind a Senate resolution proposing a long-term, mutual and verifiable nuclear arms freeze with the Soviet Union.

JACKSON came to the fore once again this summer when he introduced a resolution advocating massive American aid to Central America. He, along with Republican Senator Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland, proposed a social development program not unlike the Marshall plan that rebuilt Europe following World War II.

JACKSON warned that if not corrected, the social and economic problems of Central America could jeopardize American economic and security interests.

JACKSON frequently was ahead of the pack in identifying problems and recommending solutions, and he always was effective in articulating his design for world peace.

His wide view and clear vision will be sorely missed.



[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 3, 1983]

HENRY MARTIN JACKSON

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, who died Thursday night at his home in Everett, Wash., showed a consistency and clarity of purpose unusual in politicians. First elected to the House in 1940 and then to the Senate in 1952, he was one of the few Members of the current Congress to have served before Pearl Harbor. From those days, Mr. JACKSON drew the lesson that freedom depends on preparedness and military strength.

He was interested from the beginning in nuclear energy and atomic weapons, and he believed that the United States must never let the Soviets gain advantage. That theme runs straight through his service on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in the 1940's. It explains the defense commitments he extracted for supporting the limited test ban treaty and the conditions he de-

manded for supporting the first strategic arms agreement—otherwise neither would have been ratified—as well as his misgivings about SALT II.

From the beginning, he was interested as well in natural resources and the environment. He turned down the position of Under Secretary of the Interior in 1950, and he was a force behind environmental laws in the 1970's. As chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, he balanced environmental and economic interests skillfully.

On domestic issues, he started off as “a 100 percent New Dealer” and never wavered in his faith that an active Federal Government could improve the lot of the ordinary person. But he always understood that government could abuse the civil liberties of its citizens. In his first years in the Senate, he stood up to Joe McCarthy when few others dared, never flinching.

He ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972 and 1976. But he gained in his career a more elusive victory; ideas he championed have held up over time. In the last four decades, Americans and their Government have generally advanced freedom, increased prosperity and improved the quality of life. In dozens of ways, HENRY JACKSON served those goals.

In the process, SCOOP JACKSON remained unpretentious and good-humored. He lived modestly and always gave his outside earnings to charity. He was one of the few public officials in the 1970's to send his children to D.C. public schools. A Senate insider, he took on his colleagues and got them to limit their outside earnings. He leaves behind an example of honorable and effective public service, responsive to events but informed by conviction and steadiness of purpose.



[From the Sarasota (Fla.) Herald-Tribune, Sept. 3, 1983]

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

The unexpected death of Senator HENRY M. “SCOOP” JACKSON, 71, in his native State of Washington is a blow not only to his constituents—whom he served in the Nation's Capital for 43 years—but to his colleagues in the Senate and to the several causes for which he was the outstanding spokesman.

JACKSON, a firm anti-Communist and defense expert, commented in his last press conference—12 hours before his death—that no barbarism by the Russians could surprise him. He had reference to the brutal destruction of a Korean airliner, with at least 265 aboard, by a Soviet fighter plane.

The Senator got his nickname early in life—when he was a newsboy for the Everett Herald—and he went on from one personal “scoop” to another all his life. He was a racket-busting prosecutor in his home county—Snohomish—and was elected to Congress after 3 years in that post. He served six terms in the House before being elected and reelected to the Senate.

He was offered Cabinet posts by Democratic President Harry Truman and Republican Richard Nixon, but he chose to stay on Capitol Hill except for a couple of forays into the Presidential sweepstakes—in which he might have done better if his Norwegian conscience had not kept him pinned to the job he already had rather than going all out for another, on the taxpayer's time.

When last reelected to the Senate—last fall—he had such a landslide victory it was very nearly a unanimous stamp of approval from his State's voters.

The Senator was a liberal on domestic affairs—especially civil rights—and a steadfast friend of Israel.

He was also so dedicated to a strong defense that he was at times called the Senator from Boeing, but his colleagues knew that he was much more: a sharp, hard-working legislator who paid intense attention to his work. In recent years, this meant primarily the Armed Services Committee, of which he would undoubtedly have become chairman next year if the Democratic Party should regain its majority in the upper Chamber.

Senator JACKSON cast his 11,000th rollcall vote in the Senate last July—and received a standing ovation from his colleagues. It was a record of devotion to duty that will stand for years to come.

He may also be remembered as the powerful political supporter of Adm. Hyman Rickover throughout the latter's long task of building a nuclear Navy while staying, productively, on active duty far past normal retirement age. And the Senator was also the floor manager for the bills which brought both Alaska and Hawaii their statehoods.

It has been said of "SCOOP" JACKSON that he was so consistent in his attitudes that he was "boring." Yet he was among the kindest and most considerate of Senators, as his peers today are attesting.

With policy changing and fashionable-view-adopting becoming an ever faster and more bewildering game—in Washington as elsewhere—the country will sadly miss HENRY JACKSON, who knew where he stood. And stood there come hell or high water!



[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 3, 1983]

WE KNEW THIS STORY, AND WERE ALL THE MORE SADDENED

(By Joann Byrd)

It was a story we would have to tell someday.

But SCOOP JACKSON's mortality hadn't been evident at his hometown newspaper, and we began the story Thursday night in something like shock.

It was only after The Herald's first edition was off the press and in our hands Friday that some of us grasped the truth of what we had been writing:

HENRY M. JACKSON, whose nickname and childhood were associated with this newspaper, whose career had helped put our community on the international map, who never forgot his hometown newspaper in the crush of attention from the influential and glamorous national media, was dead.

We knew instinctively the immensity of the story, because we had watched JACKSON as closely as any newspaper in the country. As wire services dispatched stories from Washington, D.C., and the wire services, television stations, newspapers and magazines from across the continent sought The Herald's help in capturing the JACKSON story, our measure of his global stature was reinforced.

But JACKSON was more to our readers than an international figure. He was a hometown boy who made very, very good, and never forgot his roots. Many

reporters, editors and photographers at The Herald had interviewed or photographed him time and again, and he had made himself accessible to us at home and in Washington, D.C., whenever we wanted comment on the news, his views on a subject, a look at HENRY M. JACKSON.

Most of us had memories of our encounters with SCOOP JACKSON, war stories we found inspiration to tell. We indulged ourselves in those only fleetingly as we set about our task Thursday night.

And though journalists routinely cast a skeptical eye toward politicians, there were no skeptics in this newsroom. It took a third of the staff working through the night, and another third of our people beginning their day long before daylight, to produce a news package worthy of JACKSON and of his hometown.

Writers, photographers, and editors spent the night interviewing, photographing, phoning, searching voluminous files, compiling, cross-checking, locating people, dredging up memories and negatives, designing pages, and re-vamping our plans.

About the time our first edition began rolling off the press—as we were looking for staff members who had had enough sleep to continue through the day—The Herald became a news subject and a source.

Three television stations filmed late morning in our newsroom, composing room, and pressroom, interviewing Herald people who had risen to the occasion almost as if this were the thing they could do in recognition of the man.

Two wire services called back, asking for more. A Midwest paper wanted to commission a Saturday morning story. Two newspapers asked for a color portrait. A Canadian magazine called to ask, "Can you confirm that HENRY JACKSON once was given an award for delivering 7,362 Heralds without a customer complaint?" An out-of-State newspaper asked for our perspective on the man. Newspapers we stopped counting asked to reproduce old photos from our files. Reporters we stopped counting asked us to suggest people they could interview about JACKSON.

And we helped them the best we could—proud, I suppose, to be the experts on a major story, but wishing nonetheless this were a story none of us had had to tell.



[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Star, Sept. 3, 1983]

HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON

"SCOOP" JACKSON, who gained his nickname as a newsboy and who gave 45 years of his life to Congress, 30 of them as a Senator, is gone. His energy, his dedication, will be missed by both liberals and conservatives.

He'll be missed by the liberals because he fought fiercely for the poor, the downtrodden and for social programs to aid them. Conservatives will miss his consistent, unswerving support for a strong defense, and the wary eye he never took off the Soviet Union.

Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, a Democrat who never lost an election in his home State of Washington, was a political paradox.

JACKSON was noted for his tough anti-Soviet stands. His death, at 71, Thursday, came only a few hours after he had learned that a Soviet fighter pilot shot down the Korean jumbo jetliner killing 269 people. The shock, his distress, may well have brought on the death of this man who did not smoke, drank little, and exercised religiously.

For years, few Americans outside of his State knew who he was, or for what he stood. In the early 1970's, he came into the limelight with his unswerving support for Israel, his distrust of the Soviets. He became known among colleagues as "the last of the cold warriors."

But he refused to allow politics to interfere with his principles, his commonsense.

JACKSON became the darling of the environmentalists, when, as chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, he pushed through the Environmental Protection Act that created the EPA.

JACKSON was twice a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. But voters could not bring themselves to buy the blend of cold war foreign policy and new deal economics of this Senator who served in the House under Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

He summed up his creed in his brief 1975 announcement that he was seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination: "I would like to help the people in this country who are getting hurt. The little people—little business, the elderly, the young—across the board—who have been the ones who have taken the beating."

Of his hard-line foreign policy attitude he once said: "I'm not a hawk or a dove, I just don't want my country to be a pigeon."



[From the Vancouver (Wash.) Columbian, Sept. 4, 1983]

SCOOP'S DEPARTURE A "MAJOR BLOW"

(By Steve Forrester)

WASHINGTON.—Let it be recorded that the life of Senator HENRY JACKSON (D-Wash.), ended on the day his archadversary, the Soviet Union, jolted world politics in what JACKSON had called "an act of barbarism."

Let it also be recorded that JACKSON's departure from the Senate is a major blow to the political fortunes of the Pacific Northwest. Even as a member of the Senate minority and without committee chairmanship, JACKSON remained a very influential Senator and critical to the success of many regional endeavors. It will simply be much more difficult to accomplish some things of regional importance without JACKSON's clout, which ranged across party lines, to the House of Representatives and to the White House.

The most obvious endeavor in which JACKSON's absence will be noticed is the campaign to rescue the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS) nuclear plant 3. It was a key moment in that fight when JACKSON abandoned his silence and committed himself publicly to rescuing the WPPSS plant. JACKSON's successor as chairman of the Senate Energy Committee, Republican James McClure of Idaho, simply does not command the trust of his committee

or Senate colleagues as JACKSON had. The third Northwest senior Senator, Republican Mark Hatfield of Oregon, has remained neutral of the WPPSS issue.

Washington State wilderness legislation will probably not fall together as easily without JACKSON's hand. He and Senator Slade Gorton (R-Wash.), had invited Washington State House members to discuss the wilderness question on Sept. 13.

The environmentalist community has lost a very important friend in JACKSON. He was critical to passage of the National Environmental Policy Act and the Alaska Lands Act. One of the large items on the environmentalist agenda for the remainder of 1983 is the bill to allow sport hunting in Alaskan wilderness areas. That battle would have pitted JACKSON, who opposed the hunting, against McClure.

JACKSON's death suddenly pushes Senator Slade Gorton into a position of new prominence. Gorton has gotten considerable national attention, because he is one of the few bright lights among Senate freshmen of 1980 and 1982. But now Gorton becomes cochairman of what some here would call Washington State, Inc.—the bipartisan House-Senate group which attempts to get Washington State more than its share of Federal largesse. The other cochairman is Representative Tom Foley (D-Wash.), the House majority whip.

Among regions and States, the Northwest and Washington State have won a phenomenal share of Federal appropriations over the last four decades, largely because of the persistent cohesion and clout of this group. It is remarkable that in just 3 years the Washington State delegation has lost its two kingpins—former Senator Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.), whom Gorton defeated in 1980, and JACKSON.

One of the historic ironies in JACKSON's unexpected death is that he leaves office while there is widespread expectation that the Democrats will regain control of the Senate in 1984. That victory would have given JACKSON chairmanship of the Senate Armed Services Committee, a post he longed for and would have relished.

Few men in Congress have served as long as JACKSON, and he was, in many ways, marked by an earlier era of congressional politics when the first lesson a newcomer learned was how to count votes.

JACKSON's death will make it all the more apparent how fractured and without direction the Senate has become. He had served long enough to understand the Senate's special role in our Government and he was one of few Senators who knew the historic context of many domestic and international issues.

He was a master legislator.



[From the Time Magazine, Sept. 12, 1983]

A HAWK'S HAWK, A LIBERAL'S LIBERAL

SENATOR HENRY JACKSON: 1912-83

(By Kurt Andersen)

Most of Congress had something to say about the downing of Korean Air Lines flight 007, but in the State of Washington, Senator HENRY "SCOOP"

JACKSON's reactions had a double resonance: his constituents at the Boeing Co. built the 747 airliner, and during his 42 years on Capitol Hill, he had been more profoundly and articulately wary of the Soviet Union than any other national Democrat. Last week JACKSON was recovering at home from a chest cold picked up during a trip to China, but on Thursday morning, he shrugged it off and drove into Seattle to talk to reporters about the aerial atrocity. It was "an act of barbarism," he said, and could have been planned in advance.

But for all his characteristic harshness, he was, as usual, thoughtful and careful. The United States should not strike back militarily, he said, adding, "The strongest arm of response is the moral one, one of outrage." Then should the matter be brought before the United Nations? Replied JACKSON: "I would rather call a prayer meeting." Afterward JACKSON, 71, went back to his wife Helen in Everett (pop. 54,400), the lumber-mill town north of Seattle where he was born and raised. And where, a few hours after he got home, he suffered a heart attack and died.

"JACKSON," said Sam Nunn, his Democratic colleague from Georgia, "truly was a giant in the Senate." He had decisively won six elections to the Senate, the latest last November, and had been the de facto leader of his party's conservative wing. JACKSON felt that his onetime comrades had turned too easy on communism, or in some cases too hard on social programs, while he remained the archetypal cold war liberal, determined that the United States spend generously on guns and butter. "I don't worry about ideologies," he said. "I've been called a Communist, a socialist, a conservative." In 1972 and 1976, he was a credible contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

His death surprised those who knew him. JACKSON was fit and industrious, and never smoked. He had no history of heart trouble, and lived prudently.

The habit of prudence was bred by his parents, Norwegian immigrants, nicknamed SCOOP after a comic-strip character who appeared in the Everett Herald (which he delivered for years), JACKSON practiced frankness young: in the third grade, asked what he wanted to be when he grew up, he admitted he wanted Warren G. Harding's job.

He started at the University of Washington as the Depression began and returned to Everett with a law degree, taking a job with the new Federal Emergency Relief Administration. But his notions of public service were more ambitious. At 26, he was elected Snohomish County prosecutor; then in 1940, a year after "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," Mr. JACKSON was sent there for real, elected to the House. He caught the Nation's eye by speaking out early on against the witch-hunting excesses of the House Un-American Activities Committee. In 1952, JACKSON won election to the Senate over a red-baiting Republican, and sat on the committee that grilled Wisconsin's Joseph McCarthy in the 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings.

It is telling about JACKSON, and political fashions, that in 1961, on the eve of Vietnam (and the year he finally married), JACKSON's rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action was a perfect 100, but by 1972, when he was still a diehard supporter of the war, his rating had fallen to 56. The times, not JACKSON, had changed. The ill will between JACKSON and the new left grew worse when he ran for President, encouraged by the so-called ABM (Anybody But McGovern) movement among Democrats. JACKSON was never noted for

charisma or stump-speech eloquence, and his 1972 candidacy fell apart quickly. Although his well-organized 1976 run showed some life—he won the Massachusetts primary—the old cold warhorse was trounced by his fresh friend Jimmy Carter.

In the Senate, JACKSON was not a superb legislative craftsman, but intelligent and consistent. He always favored an expansive military to counter the Soviets (he was the ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee), resolutely supported Israel (his 1974 amendment made United States-Soviet trade contingent on a freer Kremlin emigration policy, mainly toward Jews) and nuclear power. He was also a dependable ally of organized labor, and happy to vote for social welfare programs or civil rights bills. Perhaps his zenith as a powerbroker came in the past decade, when he worked to kill or modify SALT arms control treaties.

JACKSON was a tried-and-true conservationist as well. In the 1950's, before ecology became trendy, he introduced a politically risky wilderness protection bill, later spearheaded the epochal 1969 National Environmental Policy Act, and last year sponsored legislation to prevent mineral leasing on wilderness lands. JACKSON never settled into rigid predictability. Says Nunn: "He was willing to take on the Pentagon when he thought it was wrong." Recently the hawk's hawk sounded almost dovish about Central America. "If we don't pay attention to the history of social and economic oppression there," JACKSON said, "the military shield is bound to crumble."

The party may have lost more than an elder statesman. Lately the Democrats have entertained hopes of gaining a Senate majority in 1984. They may still get control, but JACKSON's heretofore safe seat in Washington is now up for grabs: if Republican Gov. John Spellman appoints Dan Evans, a popular GOP predecessor, to fill in for a year, Representative Thomas Foley of Spokane, the most likely Democratic challenger, would face a tough race. In any event, Washington State will be without its supremely formidable champion in Washington, D.C.

But HENRY JACKSON was not simply a power wielder, he had a stubborn vision of America well armed and its people well cared for. He seldom roused voters, but served them ably and decently. He was more reasonable than passionate, more clearheaded than inspiring. His dreams were human-size. "Others may seek to make America great again," he said during his last run for President. "I seek to make America good again."



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times, Sept. 2, 1983]

INTEGRITY STOOD OUT MOST ABOUT "SCOOP"

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON was the greatest political figure this State has produced. But for thousands of Washingtonians, that is of secondary importance. What thousands feel today is a sense of personal loss.

Just as he was "SCOOP" to prime ministers and other dignitaries around the world, he was also "SCOOP" to uncounted numbers of humble constituents from Forks to Walla Walla.

JACKSON aimed high. For most of his political life, his goal was the White House. He was of unquestioned Presidential timber. Comparatively few people nowadays would challenge the proposition that he would have made a better Chief Executive than either of the men who beat him for the Democratic nomination—George McGovern in 1972 and Jimmy Carter in 1976.

Yet JACKSON was unable to command the same vote-getting magic beyond the borders of his State that he exercised in election after election at home. To our mind, the chief reason for that is simple: It was impossible nationally to cultivate the personal touch—the “my neighbor” feeling that solidified his hold on Washington voters.

It was characteristic of JACKSON that once his life’s ambition had slipped forever beyond his grasp, he threw himself more enthusiastically than ever into the work of the office he did hold.

Those activities spanned as fine a balance between home State constituent concerns, on the one hand, and global problems, on the other, as was achieved by any of his Senate colleagues.

With equal intensity, he approached flood control on the Cowlitz River and the defense of Western Europe. He knew all about logging in Enumclaw and the deepest secrets of military intelligence gathering in the Soviet Union. He worked as hard as anyone on the Hill.

Yet what stands out most about HENRY M. JACKSON is integrity: His 45 years in elective politics without a touch of scandal.

His Nation and his State will sorely miss him.



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post Intelligencer, Sept. 3, 1983]

HENRY JACKSON A “TRUE PATRIOT”

It was fitting, and perhaps ironic, that Senator HENRY M. JACKSON’S last public appearance was in connection with another in the long series of crises in United States-Soviet relations, about which he had come to be regarded as an expert, nationally and internationally.

Characteristically, his comments at his final news conference in Seattle Thursday were firm and resolute in their denunciation of the Soviet Union and what he perceived to be that nation’s global ambitions but they were tempered with restraint. Widely regarded as a leading hawk, JACKSON was neither a saber-rattler nor a warmonger.

In his remarks on the Soviet attack on the Korean airliner and the tragic deaths of 269 innocent passengers and crew members, JACKSON said the incident demonstrates the difference in the nature of this country which values human life and that of the Soviet system, which he called barbaric. But he advised against either a military or an economic retaliatory U.S. response.

As prominent as JACKSON was in the field of foreign and military affairs, citizens of his home State of Washington knew him best for his efforts on behalf of civil rights, economic development and preservation of our natural environment. In the latter area, he was awarded the Sierra Club’s John Muir Award in 1968 for his key role in drafting of legislation that created the North Cascades National Park.

Among the most revealing insights into a person's character traits are those of his working colleagues and the flood of tributes yesterday from his fellow Senators, on both sides of the political aisle, were unanimous in their expressions of praise and affection.

Senator Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), said, "A quarter of a million Soviet Jews who have left the U.S.S.R. owe him a special debt for the famous amendment bearing his name, which spurred the Soviet Government to release them from a modern day bondage." Senator Howard Baker, Jr. (R.-Tenn.), called JACKSON "a staunch supporter of a strong national defense and a seasoned politician who understood the need for a bipartisan cooperation on issues of vital national interest."

President Reagan termed JACKSON "a true patriot."

The Post Intelligencer extends its sincere condolences to JACKSON's wife, Helen, and to their children, Peter and Anna Marie. Their grievous loss is shared by the State and Nation. HENRY M. JACKSON served with unswerving loyalty and dedication.



[From the Bellevue (Wash.) Journal American, Sept. 4, 1983]

SCOOP JACKSON WASN'T YOUR USUAL POLITICIAN

When death calls a person like HENRY JACKSON, it is like an eagle being struck down in full flight. He hadn't been ill. He hadn't grown old. Life wasn't dwindling away. He could look forward to being a senior statesman—an American Churchill.

But it was not to be. Suddenly he is gone. Inside his otherwise healthy body must have been clogged arteries. That was bad luck. That is hard to avoid.

Now I know, as do so many others, that never again will I get a call from the person who runs his schedule, asking when it would be convenient for "SCOOP" to drop in for a visit. He was a great visitor and after the first few years I knew he was not just another politician coming around periodically to keep his fences mended with the local editor. He welcomed friendship. He sincerely enjoyed renewing old acquaintances.

Maybe other high officeholders are like that but I haven't known any. A year or so ago his office called and set up a breakfast get-together. Fine. It was a particularly pleasant visit because by unspoken mutual consent we didn't talk about national affairs—just family and people we both knew in Everett, Longview, and Bellevue.

Everett was JACKSON's hometown and he loved it. He liked to reminisce about the Best family, which owned the Everett Herald. "Ma" Best was the publisher when he was a kid and got a Herald paper route. With the bag on his shoulder he reminded someone of a paperboy in a comic strip whose nickname was "SCOOP." They started calling HENRY, SCOOP. It stuck and he liked it. He was elected at an early age to the exalted office of Congressman and he was SCOOP. Later a U.S. Senator, Senator SCOOP JACKSON. It sounds perfectly natural to us. We wonder how it sounded to heads of state in Europe who had dealings with him.

I can't remember if I supported SCOOP JACKSON the first time he ran for the Senate, but I think so. Our paper didn't back many Democrats in those days. They were a scruffy lot. Mon Walgren. Martin F. Smith. A lot of others. But JACKSON was a different kind of Democrat. He wasn't self-conscious about it. Nobody ever accused him of being anything but a good politician, but he always came across as having something more worthy on his mind than manipulating the voters.

One time he made a resounding Fourth of July speech on the banks of Lake Sacajawea in Longview without once referring to a note. I asked him afterward how he did it. The speech was so well organized, so well spoken. He grinned and looked at me sideways and just said: "That's my job, the way I earn a living."

SCOOP JACKSON was thoroughly professional in the way he operated. His life and daily schedule were as well organized as the text of his speeches. Even those who may not have liked his politics had to admire him, many so much so that they voted for him. In at least two elections I suggested he file in the primaries on both tickets and win them both, as Hiram Johnson did once in California. Again he just grinned.

It was bad luck that kept JACKSON from being President. He was John Kennedy's first choice to be his running mate in 1960. But the campaign pros said that just couldn't be. It had to be a southerner to guarantee the Southern vote. JACKSON was from the wrong State. So Lyndon Johnson was nominated and, by a quirk of fate, became President.

JACKSON was philosophical about this. If he had been the Vice Presidential candidate, he said, Kennedy very likely would not have won.

SCOOP JACKSON was a national and international figure who was involved in the highest order of affairs. But he never forgot that he came from the State of Washington and that Washington came first. The people at home were his friends. They trusted him and they elected him and he did not neglect them or let them down. Those who knew him well are left deeply sad and sorry that this eagle among us has been struck down.



[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 2, 1983]

HENRY JACKSON, 1912-83

Senator HENRY JACKSON died Thursday at 71 doing what he did best: serving his country with courage, conviction, intellect, and integrity. He did that for 44 years, for six terms in the House of Representatives and seven in the Senate. He did that as a major candidate for President.

HENRY JACKSON died in the place he loved best: here in Washington, in Everett, the city where he was born and grew up. They knew him from boyhood as "SCOOP," the industrious kid who faultlessly delivered each and every Everett Daily Herald. And they knew him as Snohomish County prosecutor in 1938, and Congressman in 1941, and Senator-elect in 1952.

The Nation knew JACKSON as an early opponent of the McCarthyism, the redbaiting that blighted American politics at the dawn of the cold war. JACKSON, moreover, was an early proponent of protecting the environment. He was

the father of the Environmental Policy Act, the law that established national procedures to safeguard all living things and the places they live.

Americans also knew the Senator for his rare expertise in energy and national security matters. He championed the public interest in limiting the economic power of the oil industry and fostering healthy competition in the energy marketplace.

What's more, the Senator made invaluable contributions to the cause of strengthening national security—an effect that included not only building a strong military posture but also building a framework for better relations between East and West. In all of that, JACKSON's clear and constant focus was to promote a climate for peace in the world.

And the world will miss him.



[From the Bellevue (Wash.) Journal American]

JACKSON'S DEATH IS OUR GREAT LOSS

When Senator HENRY JACKSON ran for reelection to the U.S. Senate in 1982, the big question wasn't whether he would win (he did, easily), but whether he would run again in 1988, when he would have been 76.

It is a great misfortune—to his family, his friends, his colleagues in Congress, the State and the Nation—that death took that decision away from SCOOP JACKSON Thursday night.

With Warren Magnuson, JACKSON formed one of the most powerful delegations ever to represent one State in the Senate. They brought project after project to their home State—to the point that some citizens complained that too much Federal largesse was pouring in.

When Magnuson was finally defeated (by Slade Gorton) in 1980 after 44 years in Congress, JACKSON became Washington's senior Senator, at last. But many of his perquisites were lost in 1980 when Ronald Reagan was elected President and the Republicans captured control of the Senate. Instead of being chairman, JACKSON was only ranking minority member on his most important assignment, the Senate Armed Services Committee.

JACKSON held his convictions firmly, unwaveringly. There was never any question where he stood on the primary issues: communism, civil rights, the environment. His popularity cut across the traditional lines of liberal or conservative. The result was easy reelection, every 6 years.

JACKSON exuded honesty. For example, all his speaking fees were donated to a foundation.

He was the personification of probity. He didn't smoke, seldom drank, displayed little wit or humor. His speeches were straightforward but not noted for their grace or felicity. He gave the impression of a bulldog, chewing persistently at an issue, or sometimes of a tugboat, plowing determinedly ahead with little regard for the shoals ahead.

JACKSON, although a Democrat from the start, parted company with many of his colleagues over the war in Vietnam, which he supported vigorously. So vigorously, in fact, that Richard Nixon offered him the post of Secretary of De-

fense, which JACKSON turned down for fear he would become the scapegoat of the Vietnam debacle.

For younger voters, their memory starts with JACKSON taking unyielding stands for strong national defense. It is hard for them to realize that JACKSON was once seen as liberal and progressive. So he was—on domestic issues. But he had become rigid in foreign affairs and seemed less willing to concede there might be two sides to the armament issue.

HENRY JACKSON was first elected to office in 1938, when he was chosen prosecuting attorney in Snohomish County. He subsequently was elected to the U.S. House for 12 years, and was serving his sixth term in the Senate.

He never lost an election. It is our joint sorrow that he never will have the opportunity to decide whether to run one more time.



[From the Spokane (Wash.) Chronicle]

JACKSON PUT PRINCIPLE FIRST

There is a touch of irony in the timing of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON's unexpected death Thursday, coming as it did while the Nation and the world were expressing outrage at JACKSON's most bitter antagonist, the Soviet Union.

Only hours before his fatal heart attack, JACKSON had denounced the Soviets' shooting down of a South Korean jetliner in predictably strong terms. It amounted to "barbarism," said JACKSON whose deep distrust of the Russians had marked his lengthy public career.

But JACKSON, the third ranking U.S. Senator in terms of seniority at the time of his death, was far more than the red-baiter and defense hawk some of his critics alleged while he was alive.

He was, in a word, a pragmatist. A fierce anti-Communist, yes, but he was among the first to recognize and openly deplore the tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

He was a conservative when it came to defense matters, alining himself almost always on the side of increased military strength and against conciliation to the Soviet Union. His strong advocacy of better relations with the People's Republic of China—which he had visited only days before he died—underscored his belief in keeping the Russians off guard.

But on domestic matters, JACKSON's policies were more in keeping with his fellow Democrats' liberal inclinations. He was a powerful friend of labor and supported social programs designed to assist the underprivileged.

He was the author of the National Environmental Protection Act but was known to seek a balance between economic development and ecological safeguards.

Even now, as the tributes and expressions of shock pour in, the terms in which they are couched are evidence of "SCOOP" JACKSON's greatest political strength—he shunned party doctrine and addressed himself to issues according to what he perceived were their individual merits.

While he was alive, some of his harshest critics were liberals within his own party who believed his foreign policy attitudes were unacceptable. It is to JACKSON's credit—as it is to the credit of any public luminary—that his rivals in

life were able to spar with him over philosophy while maintaining a healthy respect for him as a worthy adversary.

From a more parochial perspective, JACKSON's death marks another step in the profound restructuring of Washington State's representation in the Senate. Following as it does Republican Slade Gorton's defeat of Warren G. Magnuson in 1980, JACKSON's death completes a turn from the most senior delegation to one of the most junior, from two Democrats to (assuming Republican Spellman does as expected and appoints a fellow party member to succeed JACKSON) two Republicans.

So far, Gorton is proving to be a capable Senator with immense potential, largely because of a trait similar to JACKSON's—he is willing to stand for what he believes in, even if it means breaking party lines.

That is a proud tradition to which HENRY JACKSON has contributed immensely.



[From the Auburn (Wash.) Globe News]

THE NATION'S LOST A VALUED FRIEND

There was everything to applaud and little to criticize in the life of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, whose death Thursday night shocked and saddened friends and political foes.

SCOOP JACKSON was a man all of us can emulate.

He was one of those rare political specimens, a man dedicated to the service of his State and country, a tireless worker—some would say a workaholic—a skilled legislative craftsman who could bring both sides of the aisle together in compromise, a man of integrity and principle who would sooner quit public life than alter his basic beliefs and values in favor of political expediency.

And in a political career spanning nearly 45 years beginning with his election as prosecuting attorney in Snohomish County, there was no hint of scandal, no tarnish.

In the past 2 days, one official after another has lauded that one predominant trait in JACKSON, the fact that whether or not you agreed with him on a particular issue, his word was everything. You trusted the man.

Through the years, his peace-through-strength philosophy and his ever suspicious view of Soviet intentions fell in and out of fashion, but he never betrayed those values. And it was those beliefs which prompted him to visit Red China, his fourth visit, during the last half of August.

On that trip, JACKSON wore himself out campaigning for better relations between the two countries, something he strongly felt was vital to world stability.

Quite literally, he died in the line of duty.

The 71-year-old JACKSON returned from the 2-week trip with a heavy cold he caught toward the end of the tour. Despite the nagging cold and a cough which punctuated his conversations, he maintained a full schedule of appointments, telephone calls and a press conference Thursday to express his shock over the Soviet Union's jet fighter attack on a civilian Korean airliner.

His last press conference, fittingly, was vintage SCOOP, with his expressions of deep-felt moral outrage over the Soviet act and a call for a firm response mixed with restraint.

He then went home, complaining of a tightness in his chest, and retired early. The heart attack probably came when he was asleep.

His death is an unestimable loss for the people of the State; as the third highest ranking Member of the Senate, he wielded tremendous power and influence advantageous to Washington. The Nation, too, has lost a strong, unflinching voice for world peace through strength.

And all of us have lost a valued friend.



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post Intelligencer]

HENRY JACKSON, A SENATOR WHO LOVED THE GRIND

(By John Marshall)

It was just another Monday morning for Senator HENRY JACKSON, a clear February day in 1980 that he would spend in the Eastside suburbs. But for the reporter covering him, the assignment was less routine: the chance to observe a legendary political whirlwind in action for hours.

I had covered other major politicians, including Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, and Richard Nixon. But never had I watched one who took such singular delight in the mundane minutiae of a politician's life as JACKSON did.

Being a U.S. Senator might seem to be a glamorous life to many people, especially those who have never watched one up close. To them, being a U.S. Senator is an endless stream of people currying your favor and seeking your counsel, reporters beckoning, limousines waiting, parties galore, plus world-wide travel, and free postage. What a life!

But much of being a U.S. Senator is a never-ending replay of a dull script that would drive most people to distraction. For hours on end, it is one more meeting to attend, one more face to recognize, one more hand to shake, while being constantly watched, constantly on stage. The only time to catch one's breath is in the car between meetings, or perhaps in the privacy of a lavatory stall.

It was that kind of Monday for JACKSON—a breakfast speech followed by a plant visit and a press conference, followed by a newspaper interview, followed by a luncheon speech. But it was a Monday that would show why JACKSON was such a politician's politician, a master of the trade. There seemed to be no person too insignificant, no detail too trivial for the Senator's full attention.

To secretary and senior vice president alike, JACKSON gave a look straight in the eye and a firm handshake. To a crowd of reporters, JACKSON concluded a press conference with a cheery "Got all you need, troops?" To a news photographer, JACKSON flashed an unexpected, impromptu wink.

They were all little things, really, things JACKSON had no doubt done thousands, if not millions, of times. But they were also the kinds of little things that people would remember, especially at election time. They were what separated JACKSON from the politicians who were just going through the motions, doing what was expected.

JACKSON, it was obvious, did all that because he loved it. He so reveled in being a Senator that he seemed born to the position. If much of the job was dreary detail work, so much the better. JACKSON was the Protestant work ethic personified and refined to its ultimate expression: a no-nonsense, nose-to-the-grindstone Norwegian.

He had gotten up that Monday at 5 a.m. in his house in Everett, the beginning of another 19-hour day that most other 67-year-olds would have the sense not to attempt. But there was more than just his usual devotion to duty motivating the Senator that morning.

For one thing, JACKSON's first week on the Scarsdale Diet had knocked 10 pounds off his frame and it was much easier now to button the vest of his blue suit. For another thing, Russian tanks rolling into Afghanistan in the last 2 months had made JACKSON a vindicated man, perhaps for the first time since Vietnam went sour and his hawkish views fell from repute.

COLLEAGUES ALL PLAY CATCHUP

Behind him were the months when he had been a lonely Democratic voice decrying the "inequities" of the SALT II agreements when "detente" was a sacred word for many. Now his congressional colleagues were all playing catchup to the "Senator from Boeing," a bunch of born-again hawks expressing shock at the Soviet aggression.

JACKSON kept his "I told you so" smirk under control, but did say at every stop: "There's no surprise about the Russians going into Afghanistan. What's new about the Russians lying? Just ask the Chinese. The Russians have been lying to them for the last 400 years."

And buttressing JACKSON's credentials as the country's most persistent Soviet critic was a press secretary well stocked with year-old JACKSON speeches about the Russian threat in Afghanistan. Plus, wonders of wonders, a yellowed clipping of a newspaper article JACKSON had written 25 years ago about that very same subject.

Yet JACKSON was no single message man that Monday either and that said something about why he never lost an election in Washington. He was careful to spread bouquets wherever he went, with some subtlety but unmistakable persistence.

WORRY ABOUT THE FIRST AMENDMENT

At Rocco headquarters in Redmond, the completion of a gasohol contract gave JACKSON the chance to publicly praise the company and its employees. At the Journal-American newspaper in Bellevue, a meeting with the publisher and top editors gave JACKSON the chance to worry aloud the future of newspapers and the First Admendment.

Along the way, too, JACKSON gave glimpses of his encyclopedic mind, his facts on file memory. Pointing his finger for emphasis, JACKSON was the stern father professor, who remembered every trip he'd ever taken to some obscure corner of the globe, who remembered direct quotes from every history tome he'd ever read. He was only too happy to share the insights he'd gained.

And for good measure, JACKSON sprinkled in tidbits of trivia, gleaned from his decades in office that death, not the voters, would ultimately end.

JACKSON spewed forth a torrent of facts, figures, and opinions with oraclelike authority that February morning. And he displayed the distinctive talent that was the secret of his success: Cover so much territory that everyone likes something you've said.



[From the Washington (D.C.) Times, Sept. 8, 1983]

SCOOP SAID WHAT HE BELIEVED, AND STUCK TO IT

(By Elliott Abrams)

SCOOP JACKSON came to Washington in an earlier era of American politics, and to the end he reminded us of its virtues.

He had the courage to propound his fundamental beliefs in the teeth of political fashions. During the period of "detente," he warned of a Soviet military buildup; during the years of cheap energy, he talked of the potential energy crisis.

He believed conscience had a place in politics and world affairs when that view, too, marked him for attack: He was an early, visible, effective opponent of Joe McCarthy and the Jackson amendment on freedom of emigration was the most significant example of modern human rights legislation.

SCOOP was above all, a Senator, and in this age when the Presidency has seemed so often to overwhelm all other elements of our National Government, he showed us that it need not be so. Hard work, for him a matter of theology, was joined with commitment to principle to create of a single Senator what seemed at times an alternate government.

Fighting the Nixon administration on SALT I or the Jackson amendment, he embodied a very different view of American politics and government from that of the White House. JACKSON, like LaFollette or Taft, showed that a Senator could play a public role as large as that usually reserved for Presidents.

SCOOP came to lead a wing of the Democratic Party—indeed it was eventually named for him. The "Jackson Wing" claimed descendance from Truman and John Kennedy and, allied with George Meany and later, Lane Kirkland, combined New Deal beliefs in Government's role as a problem solver with a deep distrust of the Soviets and dedication to military strength as a prerequisite for peace.

JACKSON, who with these views had been at the center of the party from the 1940's, felt by the late 1960's that he was fighting to keep it in the center. Intellectuals, supporters of Israel, labor leaders coalesced around SCOOP as their natural leader.

He did not seek this position; it fell to him to assume it, and he did so with energy and integrity, never in the process developing grandiose visions of

himself. There is no one in the Democratic Party who can fill the terrible gap his passing leaves.

Ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee (and perhaps its next chairman, had he lived), SCOOP was passionately dedicated to protecting our Nation's security. There would be no peace without preparedness, he believed.

He used to talk of his father's native land, Norway, and remind us that its just and democratic society could not resist Hitler. His absolutely staunch support of Israel, too, reflected his understanding that strength and will safeguard peace, while weakness invites others to create crises, conflict, and war.

SCOOP was, in his personal affairs as well, from another time. In the 1970's, Washington's scandals led to new financial disclosure requirements aimed at deterring vice. In SCOOP's case, their effect was to expose virtue.

For 20 years, he had lived on his salary and anonymously donated every cent of earnings from speeches—sometimes \$50,000 a year—to a charity. He had established a scholarship fund in honor of his late sister, a teacher, and it provided help for students in his hometown, Everett, Wash. They never knew who their benefactor was, and all these facts were never disclosed to SCOOP's staff—much less Washington's voters—until Federal law required it. This extraordinary act of private, even secret, charity gives a flash of illumination as to the character of SCOOP JACKSON. Charity, like religion, was something he never talked about, but it was something he practiced.

He was like that. He was accused of being stubborn, or old fashioned, or narrow because he had the older virtues. He said what he believed, and stuck to it, and he treated people well, and over time he became a public man of enormous influence. Last Wednesday, after a hard day's work—much too hard for a 71-year-old with a bad cold—he went home to his wife.

It was just SCOOP to live like that, and to die like that.



[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Sept. 4, 1983]

JACKSON: HE STOOD IN THE OPEN

HENRY M. JACKSON reflected much of his native Washington State in his independent manner of thinking and in the objects of his thought and concern. The Democratic Senator, who died Thursday at 71, was the product of a State with an active, vocal labor union constituency and fiercely protective environmentalists. He spoke for them and for staunch advocates of a strong national defense throughout a distinguished career spanning more than 40 years.

You may not always have agreed with JACKSON—and we didn't always on the best ways to deal with the defense budget and with the Soviet Union—but you always knew where he stood, and you respected the thought and integrity that had gone into his position. JACKSON was at times called the "Senator from Boeing" because of the presence of the major aircraft builder in his State, but even a critic such as former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy had to acknowledge that JACKSON would have taken the same stands on defense no matter where he was from.

JACKSON was a man of foresight who saw the energy crisis coming well before it happened. A skilled legislator, he was a conservationist years ahead of the rest of the country, wrote the Environmental Protection Act and resolutely defended the natural legacy as the chairman of the Senate Interior Committee for many years.

There are certain politicians who have a manner about them that makes them truly senatorial—a sense of authority and intelligence, yet of helpfulness to younger colleagues and others who follow the intricacies of Government as well. HENRY JACKSON was one of those people.



[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 6, 1983]

THE FALLEN GIANT

Occurring amid the other horrors of the day, the sudden death of U.S. Senator HENRY JACKSON may not rank in the top of the headlines. But it is a major loss to us, to his home State of Washington and to the Republic. In his unpretentious way, SCOOP JACKSON was an undisputed giant of the Senate and worthy of the Presidency he twice unsuccessfully pursued.

Senator JACKSON was a decent, just, and above all, clear-sighted man. We disagreed on some issues like energy policy where his social Democratic background led him to a different analysis than ours. But even then he was “our favorite Senator.” And his contribution to national defense was unparalleled. As a descendant of Norwegian socialists, he inherited the best elements of a humane political tradition and a vivid awareness of what can happen to decent countries without an adequate defense. As one of the first Americans to see Auschwitz after World War II, he knew firsthand the most horrible possibilities of the 20th century.

In a sense, his passing is part of the fading of the World War II political generation, which learned so many lessons the hard way in a very short time. This common experience underlaid a bipartisan foreign policy that served this country, and the world, extremely well. By the time Senator JACKSON came to run for President in 1972 and 1976, however, this memory was lost in the wallow of Vietnam, and much of his Democratic Party was busy repudiating its own distinguished past.

Daily events are now confirming that SCOOP JACKSON was right about the Soviets and his critics were wrong. But this unwelcome validation of his views provides bleak replacement indeed for his rich experience and warm, homespun personality. We’ll miss him badly.



[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 6, 1983]

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY—“SCOOP”-STYLE

Not many Senators have had a political species named for them. Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington did. A “Jackson Democrat” has for years been as identifiable as a “Taft Republican” used to be, when rock-solid

conservative Robert Taft was the last previous Senator whose name was similarly enshrined.

In the midst of the eulogies to Senator JACKSON, following his sudden passing last week, it might be noted that the kind of Democrat he was could not be separated from the kind of man he was. He was in the American grain of the immigrants' son who became a hard-working paperboy, a union member, a working-his-way-through-college dishwasher, a law student, a lawyer, and on into public life.

Here were the roots for JACKSON the Democrat. Protect this glorious land that can do so much for so many. More than enough military might is better than the risk of too little to keep the Nation safe. More than enough government is better than the risk of too little to keep the rights of the people secure, meet their needs, preserve the environment in which they live.

This simplified version of Henry Jacksonian democracy hardly suggests the difficulty of affixing the conservative and liberal labels that were always being thrown at one side or another of what he said and did. Allowing for all the political considerations in a political career, Mr. JACKSON seemed to seek the difficult path of judging each decision on its merits. Sometimes this made it equally difficult for the same people to agree with him twice in succession. Unless, of course, they were Jackson Americans.



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Weekly, Sept. 13, 1983]

THE SCOOP WE KNEW

(By Gerry Hoeck)

The newspapers will say that HENRY MARTIN JACKSON was laid to rest this week. Don't you believe it. For those of us who had the good fortune to live and work with that remarkable man, the thought is unthinkable. SCOOP never rested. The papers are wrong.

Sixteen hours a day, 7 days a week, for 45 years, he pursued with joy and zeal his only goal—the helping of others.

In February 1976, we were in Los Angeles filming a 5-minute network TV show to announce his second try for the Presidency. We had him alone in David Wolper's studio and decided to fire a few simple questions to throw him off his guard, to get candid, off-the-cuff answers. That was usually JACKSON at his best.

The first question: "Why in heaven's name do you want to be President, SCOOP?"

There was not a second's hesitation. "To help people."

As flat as that. Corny, sure. A cliché, sure. With 99 out of 100 politicians, it would be a self-serving declaration that you could take with a large tablespoon of salt. But with SCOOP, it was straight and honest. He meant it, brother, he meant it.

That was the trouble with SCOOP. He was so decent and direct and honest that many of his critics misread him. There was not an ounce of deceit or deception in his body. I felt sorry for people who kept looking for a mean motive.

Last fall we were shooting a series of television spots around the State for SCOOP's reelection campaign. We drove down to Grays Harbor one morning to do a sidewalk spot about the impact of high interest rates. A few miles short of Aberdeen we stopped at a small gas station in the woods.

While the tank was being filled, SCOOP started talking to the operator. The usual questions—how's business, how long have you had the station, etc. Finally SCOOP sensed the man was a little nervous or embarrassed. He stuck out his hand and said, "I'm SCOOP JACKSON."

"I know who you are," the man said. "I was in the service overseas and my mother was very sick in Tacoma and you got me home. I know who you are."

Yes, the people of the State of Washington knew who HENRY JACKSON was. He was their friend. They never forgot it. All you had to do was look at the numbers on election night.

Later that morning we finished filming SCOOP on the streets of Aberdeen and looked for a place to catch a sandwich. There was a small sidewalk cafe on the main street, with two or three tables, and the owner rushed out and set up the chairs for us. Later we learned the owner had been driven out of his lumber business by the sagging economy and he and his wife had opened this hole-in-the-wall restaurant to make ends meet.

Then it began. The parade of people. They came streaming from all over town. Our visit had been unannounced, but they had all suddenly heard that SCOOP was in town. SCOOP is sitting at a table downtown on Main Street—right now * * * the telephone grapevine had been working.

They came by the dozens—housewives, labor leaders, Democratic committeemen and women, bankers, businessmen, reporters, plain ordinary citizens. They wanted to talk to one of their favorite people. A few had problems they wanted to talk about—like a harbor project SCOOP was working on—but mostly, they wanted to shake his hand, say hello, talk about their families. And JACKSON knew their names, remembered the old get-togethers, and asked about friends.

It is perhaps my favorite memory of SCOOP. Sitting there at that sidewalk table in Aberdeen, laughing, talking, the sun on his face, surrounded by his people, trying to drink his milk and munch down a sandwich. Later the restaurant owner brought out some fresh hot wild blackberry pie. And it was perfect.

I had told SCOOP going down in the car that the latest survey showed him getting a maximum of 62 percent of the vote in November. He just smiled. Five weeks later he got almost 70 percent of the State vote.

That September day in Aberdeen there were no computerized mailings going to residents, no sophisticated telephone banks alerting Aberdeen to JACKSON's presence, no clever television spots spinning an aura about the man. It was unnecessary. They knew JACKSON. What they knew about JACKSON was based on performance and years of observation. And they trusted him. He was their guy.

It gives strength to the hope that the American public will always be able to sort through the nonsense associated with elections and select the best man or woman for an office—based on ability and integrity. Not on all the silly paraphernalia.

That scene could have been duplicated anywhere in the State of Washington. The sidewalk table could have been moved to Othello, or Winthrop, or

Wenatchee, or Duvall, or Fourth and Pike in Seattle, and the same spontaneous outpouring of respect for SCOOP would have occurred. Because SCOOP was one of them. It's that simple.

Son of emigrant Norwegian parents in Everett, he never forgot his roots. But he grew. God, how he grew.

Picture a snowy night at Union Station in Washington, D.C., in January 1941.

Two wide-eyed 28-year-old men from Everett, Wash., climbed off a train. Their names were HENRY M. JACKSON and John L. Salter. Neither had ever traveled East. They were green and untested but they had managed to get SCOOP elected to Congress.

They picked up their bags, walked out into the night, and shouted to a cabbie: "Where's the Capitol?"

"Right over there, you dummies," came the answer.

Three blocks away the Capitol dome was ablaze with lights. I wonder if that cabbie ever found out what happened to those two young men. In 20 years they were shaping a major part of the policy coming from Capitol Hill—and even influencing events at the White House.

They were a great combination—SCOOP and John. SCOOP, with his hard work and dedication to the job. Salter, with his sharp perception of people and his Irish gregarious nature. They complemented each other—much the same as Maggie and SCOOP complemented each other in the Senate. Tom Foley said last weekend that he doubted that any State would ever again have a pair of Senators as powerful and effective as SCOOP and Maggie. I believe that's true.

SCOOP matured steadily through the first 20 years. He did his homework. He learned more about issues and more about Congress than most of his colleagues. It is true he was not a member of the club—he was not one of the boys. But Members on both sides of the aisle respected his intelligence, his steadfastness, his rock-granite honesty. He was never bitterly partisan and they trusted his word. So he became one of their leaders.

By the time 1960 rolled around, SCOOP was a leading candidate for the Vice Presidential nomination at the party convention in Los Angeles. JACKSON and Salter were friends of the Kennedys, and Bobby was openly for SCOOP. He gave us marching orders on which delegations to talk to. Bobby's loyalty to SCOOP went back to the time when Joe McCarthy fired him from his committee and SCOOP quickly said, "Come on, Bobby, go to work for me." Bobby never forgot.

A few days before Jack Kennedy's nomination in Los Angeles, Kennedy told Jim Bishop, the writer who was documenting the Presidential story, that SCOOP would probably be his choice. So Bishop joined us in SCOOP's suite the morning after Kennedy's nomination, fully expecting JACKSON to be the nominee.

The call came.

"SCOOP, this is Jack. I'm sorry, but I have decided to go with Lyndon. If you will, I'd like you to be national chairman."

SCOOP said, "Of course, Jack. Whatever you want me to do."

He came that close.

There were many other memories that those of us who worked for JACKSON will long remember. Like the buoyant night in Boston, in 1976, when we won our first Presidential primary.

We had set up phones in a special hotel room to get early vote counts from key precincts. As phones started ringing and we tallied the results, it became obvious. We were going to win.

I walked down the hall to the JACKSON suite with the figures in hand. The election party was just starting. Pat Moynihan was talking in the middle of the room. I sat down beside Helen Jackson and said quietly, "Helen, SCOOP's going to win."

She said: "Thank God. He's worked so hard."

Yes, he'd worked so hard. And she had, too. Few wives of men in public life have given more of themselves than Helen Jackson. She and SCOOP raised two marvelous children—Anna Marie, who entered Stanford last year, and Peter, a senior in high school who is working this summer on the Enumclaw weekly. It wasn't easy with the time demands of two Presidential campaigns and the normal rigors of senatorial life. She's a magnificent lady.

Last Friday afternoon a group of us gathered in a favorite Everett bistro—shocked, benumbed, tears in our eyes. John Salter was there and we reminisced.

John said something that many people do not know. He said, "The key event was Buchenwald. It changed him." As a young Congressman in 1945, HENRY JACKSON had walked through the gates of Buchenwald a few days after that horror camp was opened. He was never the same. He not only championed the cause of Israel throughout his life but he detested bigotry and prejudice and cruelty in every form. He demanded fairness, equality, freedom. It shocked him that people could act uncivilized. It explains his perfect civil rights record. It partly explains his attitude toward the Soviet Union.

So there you have it. SCOOP JACKSON was not a perfect man. He had his flaws. But he was a supremely kind and unpretentious man. He traveled with Presidents and prime ministers but he drove an old Chevrolet. He never worried about his clothes or material things. He spent his entire life working for other people and fighting for what he believed—never wavering. What more can you ask of a man?

After SCOOP's reelection last fall, there were some of us who felt he should never run again. Go out ahead. Give yourself a rest. Enjoy life. We never said anything to him and, to my knowledge, he never mentioned his future intentions.

But I must make a confession to SCOOP today. If he had rung the bell once more, if he had asked us to mount one more campaign in 1988 or whenever, all the troops would have come running. They'd leave their husbands and wives and children, they'd climb on those lousy buses and airplanes, they'd drag out their old typewriters, they'd sleep on those busted-down beds in crummy hotels, eat the tasteless food, and give up a thousand hours of decent sleep.

And do you know why they'd do it, SCOOP?

I'll tell you why.

Because—damn it—we loved you.

[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 8, 1983]

JACKSON EULOGIES REplete WITH PRAISE, MEMORIES

HENRY JACKSON's family, his closest friends, and colleagues filled Everett's First Presbyterian Church at noon Sept. 7. This is how they remembered JACKSON the father, JACKSON the statesman, JACKSON the man.

ORGAN PRELUDE BY ORGANIST ALAN VILLESVIK

Invocation by Rev. James R. Hervey, associate pastor, First Presbyterian Church:

Our help is in the name of the Lord who made the heavens and the Earth. It is he whom we worship. Honor and majesty are due his name. Let us pray together. O great and eternal God who loves us with an everlasting love and has turned the shadow of death into the brightness of your glory, help us now to wait upon you with reverent and submissive minds and hearts. In the silence of this hour, speak to us of eternal things that through the patience and comfort of the scriptures we may find hope and be lifted above our darkness and distress into the light and peace of your presence, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Congregation, accompanied by church choir, sang the hymn, "Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee."

Reverend Hervey:

Helen, Anna Marie, Peter, members of the family, staff and associates. I speak on behalf of friends of this church, community, the State, Nation, yes, even the world when I say that our deepest sympathy and concern is with you. Our prayer is for God's comfort and strength in your lives as you experience this grief and this loss.

From my own perspective, Senator JACKSON had no difficulty in finding his place in life. He seemed to be able to take charge, to set others at ease. Whether talking with the former head of state or helping a pensioner from this community with a social security problem. Whether expressing sympathy to a grieving neighbor or sharing the joy of Christmas with a group of neighborhood carolers.

National and international in his concern and commitments, his influence and his prestige, SCOOP was also a hometown American. While we all join you in mourning his loss, we cannot help but be just a bit envious of the treasure of memories which you share as you celebrated life together with him as a family.

We have all read and heard much of his honesty and his integrity, his concern and his compassion. But perhaps his greatest legacy to you, and to us all, is that he is a man who lived out the ancient motto "to be," rather than "to seem to be."

Helen, Anna Marie, Peter, may God bless and comfort you as you treasure his memory in your minds and in your hearts. Amen.

Old Testament readings: Psalms 46:1-3 and 11; Psalms 24:1-5.

Anna Marie Jackson:

Most people knew my father as a public personality—in his official role. I, however, knew him as a very special person—a father who always made time for his family and who knew how important a father-daughter relationship is.

He was the kind of father that would leave from in the middle of one of his important meetings to take time to make a phone call and talk to me and answer some of the questions that I was having trouble with in one of my political science classes.

I remember one night when he called me from New York, after a tiring day of speeches, while trying to recuperate from a cold. He insisted on staying right on the phone—as he said, no matter if it would take all night—until I understood the history of the New Deal backwards and forwards. That particular phone call took 2½ hours.

He was a proud father as well. This past Christmas he flew out to my debutante ball even though the Senate was in session and there was a possibility that he might miss a vote. And one thing my father did not want to do was to miss a vote.

But he told me the debutante ball was a very special moment in my life and he wanted to be a part of it. What I recall most vividly from that evening was waltzing with daddy, and he kept stepping on my toes. But he whispered in my ear and said: “Keep smiling, we make a good team.”

Peter Jackson:

It's impossible to summarize how much the guidance, love, and understanding of a father means to a son. And it's going to take some time to fully realize what dad in his long, productive life means to me.

But above all, I knew him as a compassionate father dedicated to his family. When I was 5 years old, my dad learned that I had memorized a list of all the Presidents of the United States.

He was so enormously proud of my accomplishment that he would often stop photographers and voters at random, forcing them to stand still and endure my recitation of every one of the Presidents from Washington to Nixon. When it was all over he would say: “This is my son Peter and everything he does makes me proud of him.”

I'll always recall our hours together Saturday mornings at the Senate gymnasium. It was our special time for relaxing, swimming, and just talking. Whenever anyone came by, dad would stop, put his hand on my shoulder and say: “This son of mine—he's pretty special, don't you think?”

Perhaps what I'll miss most is our long discussion on political and foreign policy issues. I would go to the library and thoroughly research a topic he was deeply involved with. On returning home I would quietly sit down in our library and explain to him why I thought Ralph Nader was right on nuclear energy.

Immediately his eyes would light up. There was nothing he enjoyed more than engaging in an active, lively debate. Nevertheless, no matter how much research I did he always came up with better arguments. He told me: “Equip yourself with the facts, be honest, and be a good listener, then you'll receive respect.”

When I think of my dad I'll always best remember that advice, in our spirited debates. I realize that he was not only a generously caring father, but also an experienced and skillful teacher.

New Testament reading: portions of Romans 8 by Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, chaplain emeritus, U.S. Senate.

Special music: "America Our Heritage" by Helen Steele, sung by the Northwest Boys Choir, directed by Steve Stevens.

Warren G. Magnuson, former Senator and longtime JACKSON colleague:

First of all I want to join with Helen and the family and the people of the State of Washington to welcome our guests who came from far and near today to pay tribute to HENRY JACKSON.

This is a sad occasion, but we welcome you to the State of Washington—SCOOP's beloved State. And Helen, I know that the hearts of all of us turn towards you and your family in this time of your greatest grief.

I naturally was shocked and stunned when I was informed of Senator JACKSON's death—untimely as it was. I often thought of SCOOP as being indestructible. His personal habits, his way of life just made him that indestructible to me.

It's almost unreal, that as I stand here * * * well, I couldn't sleep that night. I tried to go to sleep, hoping I'd wake up and it was just a dream. But it's real. As I stand here beside the casket, I know it's real.

He lived a great life. But he's going to leave a great void that I doubt any person can fill. It's going to take a big man to fill even partially his shoes.

We served together in the House and the Senate almost a half a century. That's a long, long time. We worked as a team, shoulder-to-shoulder, on different projects and different contests and such and such.

Now that team is dissolved. I don't know when it will ever come back again—44 years in the Congress of the United States and 28 years in the U.S. Senate. It not only is a long, long time, but it brings back many episodes and memories to me, that if I tried to list them all I'd have you here all afternoon. So we mourn his loss and that void. I don't know when it's ever going to be filled.

There was a funeral in Rome years ago in which a prominent Roman stood up and said, "I've come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." I'm going to paraphrase that and reverse it: "I come not to bury HENRY JACKSON, but to praise him." Because his achievements, his contribution to world peace, to human rights, and to the people of this State and the Nation will be going on and on forever, and he'll be immortal by them.

His private and personal life, and his political life, were almost immaculate. And do you people realize, like I do, that there's never been one breath of scandal that's ever hovered around HENRY JACKSON in half a century of public service? That's something in this day and age.

I was always amazed and marveled at his knowledge and grasp of foreign affairs. And I watched him over the years grow up to be a giant, not only in the Congress with my colleagues over there, but in international affairs. And he geared his defense posture to foreign affairs.

He always said to me over the years, I'm going to vote tomorrow—whenever the vote would be in the Senate—to what I think is in the best interest of these United States. Sometimes he was criticized for it, but he never wavered; he never swayed to the winds of popular opinion.

And people sought and went to him for advice and wisdom on foreign affairs. He was almost a prophet—a prophet in his time. He was pretty nearly always right, and that's what made him what he was.

But there's another side of SCOOP that I knew very well. That is his human side. There never was a problem in all the years we were together, never too small for SCOOP not to take time out of his busy world to help that person. And there's scores of incidents, hundreds, that I went through with him.

He used to drop by my office—we officed down the hall from one another—pretty nearly every morning when we were in session. He'd say, "Who's in trouble today? Who at home is in trouble? Who can we help?" And we'd get together and work it out the best we knew how.

So, when the headstone is written, I hope they'll say, well, he was a humane, compassionate man. I hope they'll say, "Here lies HENRY JACKSON, a decent man, a loyal public servant—but above all, a man of the people." God bless you, SCOOP.

Daniel P. Moynihan, Democratic Senator from New York:

Helen, Anna Marie, and Peter, may I continue what Maggie has so well begun? Last evening in the National Presbyterian Church I had occasion to recall an old belief in the Judaic tradition that at any moment in history, goodness in the world is preserved by the deeds of 36 just men who do not know that this is the role the Lord has given them.

It is a thought to which one has returned these last days, for if it be so—and of course in the large sense, it is so—HENRY M. JACKSON was one of those men. There could be no more telling evidence than that this would never had occurred to him.

He lived in the worst of times—the age of the totalitarian state. It fell to him to tell this to his own people and to the world and he did so full-well knowing that there is a cost for such truth-telling. But he was a Viking also and knew the joy of battle. Of all things human, the only emotion he never knew was fear. The only weakness he could never comprehend was the love of ease.

The poet Yeats wrote once of a man who was blessed, and had the power to bless. SCOOP was such a person also. To know him and to love him as generations of men and women in American public life have done, is to have been touched by that abounding grace which he brought to the affairs of the Republic. He never took; he only gave. And he never stopped giving.

To Helen, to Anna Marie, Peter—wishing in no way to intrude—we would even so say that as we shared your love of him we share your loss. And yet, now it is over, we may celebrate his life as much as we mourn his death.

The third item in the public papers of John F. Kennedy, following the inaugural address, following the briefings to the Soviet leadership, is the transcript of the remarks at the meeting of the Democratic National Committee on Jan. 21, 1961. At this meeting, Senator JACKSON stepped down as chairman of his party, a post he had assumed in order to run the campaign to win the election for his friend and colleague who now, as President, recounted and thanked him and ended saying, "so I hope we will all stand up and give a good cheer to SCOOP JACKSON."

Let us do that in our hearts and may the echo linger. And leader, farewell.

Edward M. Kennedy, Democratic Senator from Massachusetts:

Those of us who had the joy of sharing SCOOP's life must now share the sorrow of his loss. Yet after the time of requiem has passed, we will remember with gratitude the life of this great leader, whom all of us knew as a good man.

His legacy lives in the lesson he taught us that national defense means not only a strong military but a just society. He was an advocate of modern weaponry and great security. But he never believed that he could or we should pay for a missile or a bomber by taking food from a hungry child or hope from a jobless worker. He was a champion of labor, even when unions are said to be out of style. He was a tribune of civil liberty even at the McCarthy era. Some said he lacked charisma. In reality, he had a special charisma of conscience.

And so his legacy will live as well in the great causes that were his abiding concern. There was no greater friend of Israel than SCOOP JACKSON, who helped the Jewish people as much as any American ever had to hold their promised land. Some individuals have planted a tree in Israel: SCOOP helped to plant an entire nation.

He heard and heeded the cry for liberty from countless human beings who are the victims of Soviet tyranny and who depend on us to defend their human rights. And he was always there for his beliefs, despite the trends of the moment or the tides of a political season.

I like to think one reason we were close all these years, even though we sometimes disagreed, was because we both knew what it meant to sail against the prevailing winds. SCOOP did not wish it this way. He would have preferred to be President. But he would not, could not, be false to his own vision of what was right.

And through it all he kept his sense of perspective and of humor. During his 1972 Presidential campaign there were reporters who complained that SCOOP's voice was a monotone. Eight years later, when I was running and the reporters claimed I was shouting too much, SCOOP and I conferred on the Senate floor. Maybe, he suggested, we could take an average of our speaking styles and claim the perfect modulation.

I first came to know SCOOP in the early years of my brother's Presidential campaign when I was traveling to the State of Washington and of course, the West. And from that moment on, for nearly half of my life, SCOOP JACKSON was with me and with my family in the best and darkest of days.

And on that day that Jack died, he was a friend who comforted me. On more days than I can count I felt his happy clasp on my shoulder, I saw his crinkled smile. I enjoyed his counsel and his company. We talked frequently of our families and, more than any piece of legislation or political achievement, he treasured Helen and Anna Marie and Peter. The three of you kept him young at the age of 71 until the very end of his days. And I believe he loved you more than he could ever say.

Others will recall SCOOP, and history will record him for his significance and his stand of national service through the terms of nine Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan. For his service encompassed more than a fifth of the entire existence of this great Republic. We all knew that and we honor him for it.

But in this dark time for his family when suddenly we must say our farewell, I recall and salute SCOOP, most of all, as among the best of friends.

Representative Thomas S. Foley of Washington State, a member of JACKSON's staff in the late 1950's and early 1960's:

Among the great number who honor SCOOP JACKSON's life, who mourn his passing, are many special people. The family—Helen, Anna Marie, and Pete—the heads of all the branches of our State and National Government, his beloved fellow citizens of Washington and of Everett, the friends of his childhood, those in public and private life in great office and great position, to whom he gave counsel and received it.

But among those that feel especially close to him and especially close to one another are those who, at some time in their lives, had the great honor of sharing his life in service with and for him.

The Jackson staff, present and past, has grown rather large. He was in public life for over 40 years. And they span generations, and they are scattered, in many cases some retired, some in universities, in the professions, some in other positions in public and private life.

But all join, particularly at this time, by the great sense of honor and pride that they have in spending part of their life with this great man. For as he was to his family, he was to his staff—not a lonely leader, but a teacher.

And he taught mainly by example. The example of a man of tremendous integrity and commitment, of constancy and courage. A man who infused the professions of a long public service which he had chosen with the greatest dignity. A man who cared for his staff and who received from them in return a fierce loyalty, because for all of us who served him, it will remain to the end of our days a matter of enormous pride—I guess you're never too old to shed a tear for a friend.

And so many people today owe so much, as I do, to SCOOP JACKSON, that can never be repaid. There are millions in fact who scarcely know his name, but have reason to bless his memory.

There will never be another Jackson staff. There will never be another generation of young men and women who will have an opportunity to learn the best of our country, its institutions, and its great leaders—from this man.

He is gone, but his work continues. And, as SCOOP would be the first to have us realize, life must go on. He gave his life to the security of his country, to the maintenance of peace, to the protection of the physical treasures of our Nation, to the protection of the young and the old, those who were disadvantaged and destitute.

He fought for a just society, a fair society. He fought for a better world, and he believed passionately that government could be an instrument of that improvement.

I think we can best remember him by carrying the lessons of his life and character, of his commitment and belief, forward. I think he would understand if we believe that the best memorial to SCOOP is to carry on his great work.

And he would be the first one to say that there is much to be done—that there are tasks to be finished, there is a peace to be maintained, a country to be made more secure—not just by weapons and strength, passionately though he believed that—but by strengthening its institutions, by protecting its future, by supporting its economy, and by most of all speaking out everywhere at home and abroad for the rights and the spirit and dignity of humanity.

He would understand, perhaps, if we pause today to remember his memory. But as those who work for him will assure you, SCOOP would remind you that if you were going to carry on an important work, tomorrow is a working day. Farewell, SCOOP, God bless you.

Chaplain Elson:

Let us pray. Almighty God, Father of mercies and giver of all comfort, deal graciously, we pray Thee, with all who mourn this day, especially Helen, Anna Marie and Peter. That casting every care on Thee, they may know the consolation of Thy love, the healing of Thy grace, and the companionship of Thy presence.

We thank Thee, our Father, that deep in the human heart is an unquenchable trust that life does not end with death, that the God who made us will care for us beyond the bounds of vision and that our hope has been so wondrously confirmed in the life, the words, and the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We thank Thee, our Father, for those quiet moments apart from the clash and clamor and tumult of our days, when the vale is lifted and pure love and thanksgiving fills our hearts.

So it is with us this moment, in this, Thy house, we thank Thee for Thy servant HENRY, for the nobility of his manhood, for the integrity of his person, for his sensitiveness and his tenderness, for his love and his joy, for his wit and his wisdom, for his transparent spirituality, and for his Christian testimony.

We thank Thee for his peerless public service to this State, to the Nation, to the multitudes of many races and varied faiths across the world, who this day rise up to call him blessed.

Help us to prize highly and to guard carefully the gifts which his loyalty and devotion to duty have passed on to us. Grant, oh Lord, that we may be true as he was true, that we may be loyal as he was loyal, and that we may serve our country and our God all the days of our lives, and leave the world better as he did for having lived in it through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Oh thou King of Kings and Lord of Lords, take this Nation in Thy holy keeping, raise up leaders for every age and endow her with the sinews of the spirit so she may advance Thy kingdom of justice and righteousness and peace throughout this world.

Lord support us all the day long until the shadows lengthen and the evening comes and the busy world is hushed and the fever of life is over and our work is done. Then in Thy mercy, grant us safe lodging and holy rest and peace at the last through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The congregation repeated "The Lord's Prayer" and then stood and sang the hymn, "God of Our Fathers" with Sue Shawger providing trumpet accompaniment.

Reverend Hervey followed with the benediction. The dignitaries filed from the church, and the pallbearers escorted the coffin to the waiting hearse.

SCOOP

(By D. Michael Harvey)

His life was noble, and the elements
so mixed in him that Nature might
stand up and say to all the world:
"This was a man."

And when he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

HENRY MARTIN JACKSON, U.S. Senator from Washington State, died last Thursday. Those of us who had the privilege and the job of working with SCOOP JACKSON learned a lot about him and even more from him.

Short, gray-haired, youthful and vigorous at 71, and frequent wearer of the "Jackson uniform" (blue blazer, grey slacks, blue button-down shirt, striped tie, and black penny loafers), SCOOP dearly loved his wife, Helen, and his children, Anna Marie and Peter. He took great pride in his children's accomplishments. He also practiced diagnostic medicine without a license.

SCOOP taught us how to remember things we had to do by writing them on many little slips of paper that are kept folded together in your pocket. He taught us how to maintain a quick-retrieval file system using brown manila envelopes that are kept stacked on your desk and chairs. He regularly demonstrated that it was possible to hold, simultaneously, three different meetings and two telephone conversations—each about different subjects—and achieve remarkably coherent results all around.

SCOOP believed that the study of history and English literature were the best preparation for a political career. As he once put it: "History teaches us how things got the way they are, and the great writers give us insight into human nature and behavior. Both help us make better public policy."

He consistently reminded us of the need for thorough professionalism in an all too often hurried and slapdash world. When we performed well, he gave us the ultimate JACKSON accolade: "Good work, troops!"

His national reputation came from his magnificent record on defense, foreign policy, economic, environmental, human rights, energy and natural resources issues, and two tries for the Democratic Presidential nomination. But when asked what he regarded as his single most important accomplishment, SCOOP said it was when, in 1960, as Democratic national chairman for John F. Kennedy's successful Presidential campaign, "We put an end to religious bigotry as a major factor in American politics."

SCOOP was not our boss, he was our leader, our teacher, and above all, our friend. He showed us how to disagree without being disagreeable. He believed that civility is not a sign of weakness, and that character is as important as competence. He taught us to lower the level of rhetoric and raise the level of reason. That willingness to compromise is not capitulation.

He demonstrated that one can accomplish more by openness, patience, and persistence than by cunning and surprise. He taught us that in government,

good people are even more important than good policy, and that idealism is still a viable force in the frequently cynical world.

Most importantly, he reminded us that honor and decency are essential ingredients of a truly civilized society. That each man and woman, regardless of his or her station in life, is entitled to be treated with dignity on the basis of our fundamental equality as human beings.

Our work with him exemplified John Kennedy's view of public service as "a proud and lively career." We respected him, we admired him, and we loved him. When he died, we cried, not for SCOOP, but for ourselves and for our country.

From now on in whatever we do, if we follow the lessons SCOOP taught us, we may not always be winners, but we will never be losers. And, from time to time when we have done our professional best, I'm willing to bet that we will hear a distant, but still penetrating voice saying a cheery: "Good work, troops!"



REMARKS OF GRENVILLE GARSIDE AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SENATOR HENRY
M. JACKSON, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPT. 6, 1983

Those of us who worked with SCOOP over the years find it hard to believe he is gone.

We thought he would live forever.

SCOOP did nothing to discourage this thinking. He was proud of his Norwegian ancestry and took pains to remind us that longevity was part of this heritage.

And, of course, he had the looks, the vitality and the intellectual curiosity of a man of 50, with a wonderful wife and two lively children to keep him young.

You would think that a man—after 45 years in public life—would succumb to cynicism and fatigue, but not SCOOP. He practiced the art of politics with vigor, enthusiasm, and hope right to the end.

And he was a born politician who thrived on people and the hurly-burly of public life. His constituency spread far beyond the borders of Washington State. Five years ago, on a freezing February afternoon, I watched him campaign through the Shengli oil fields in China. Had an election been held that day, he would have been elected to the Central Committee in a landslide.

His life in the Senate seemed at times chaotic and disorganized but it worked. He was invariably juggling three meetings and two telephones and the subject matter might range from a new charter for the CIA to someone's missing social security check.

He had a personal filing system—consisting of dozens of brown manila envelopes—which defied repeated attempts at organization. We will never know what vital bits of history disappeared into those envelopes.

He was—some of us thought—almost too accessible to everybody. He had the disconcerting habit of seeking policy advice from people with no known expertise on the subject. And his sources of information were legendary. It was a rare moment when you could surprise him with fresh information.

He was always talking to his colleagues—in committee, in the cloakroom, in Capitol hideaways, on the Senate subway, and this was a crucial element in his

success. He had a tremendous ability to work with his fellow Senators. He always seemed to know their special concerns and problems and how to accommodate them.

Much of his most successful work was accomplished in the Senate gymnasium. It was an ironclad rule that SCOOP went to the gym in the late afternoon every day. He went there, I am convinced, for three reasons: to get away from us, to exercise, and most important, to wheel and deal in the privacy of the steamroom.

We joked with him about his role in the decline of the legislative process but he left behind a remarkable record of legislative achievement.

SCOOP's influence on the defense and foreign policy issues of the past 30 years was immeasurable but his contributions in other areas of national policy will also be long remembered.

One thinks, for example, of his leadership in achieving statehood for Alaska and Hawaii in the 1950's, at the time not a simple matter at all. Or, in the 1960's, his skillful leadership in securing passage of controversial legislation to create the National Wilderness System, the great Redwoods National Park in California, and the magnificent Cascades Park in his home State. More recently he crafted the compromises which made possible the monumental Alaska Lands Act. No one else had the credibility to do it.

SCOOP thought the Government should be more concerned about the impact of its actions on the environment and so Congress enacted the National Environmental Policy Act, certainly the most significant environmental legislation of our time.

He thought we ought to have a strategic petroleum reserve to protect our economy from foreign oil embargoes and Congress acted to create one.

He thought we ought to give young people a chance for productive work in our national parks and forests, and so Congress enacted the Youth Conservation Corps to do just that.

The list is much longer but the point is clear. SCOOP's legacy touches our lives in many ways. It spans the continent and stretches to the farthest reaches of Alaska and Hawaii. We are all the richer for his creative use of the legislative process.

Emerson wrote that the "high prize of life, the crowning fortune of a man, is to be born with a bias to some pursuit which finds him employment and happiness, whether it be to make baskets or broadswords or canals or statues or songs * * *."

It was SCOOP's crowning fortune—and ours—that he was born to the pursuit of politics, a pursuit which found him happiness and fulfillment over a remarkable career in public life. Those of us who had the chance to join him on this happy journey mourn the loss of our leader and friend.



[KOMO Television, Sept. 3, 1983]

EDITORIAL

(By Pat Chapman)

SEATTLE, WASH.—The loss of Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON will be felt here in Washington and in our Nation's Capitol for years to come.

Mostly, he will be remembered for having the courage of his convictions. SCOOP JACKSON never swayed with ideological or political currents. His views concerning the Soviet Union never changed throughout his political career. At the same time he was championing the cause of the military, Senator JACKSON was also working hard on progressive environmental issues in the Interior and Energy Committees. Doing what he thought was best: That's how SCOOP JACKSON approached his job.

It was a credo based on hard work and determination. The Senator's expertise in foreign affairs was widely respected whether one agreed with him or not.

With Senator JACKSON, there was never a facade put on for political purposes. What you saw was what there was. And his commitment to people ran over into his personal life. Throughout his career, all proceeds from speeches went to a special scholarship fund.

It is ironic, given recent events, that we need SCOOP JACKSON now more than ever before.



[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Sept. 3, 1983]

HENRY JACKSON

When HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON first took a seat in Congress, Franklin D. Roosevelt was President. It was January 1941. The Nation still suffered from the Great Depression. The name Pearl Harbor would remain unfamiliar for another 11 months.

Since then, America and the world have undergone vast transformations. Throughout them all, SCOOP JACKSON played a continuous leading role in guiding this Nation. He died suddenly of heart failure at age 71 on Thursday. Before death ended his 43 years of distinguished service, HENRY JACKSON compiled a record of achievement and influence seldom equaled in the history of American Government.

On foreign affairs he was a hard-line conservative, and it was for those views, perhaps that he was best known. A profound, undeviating distrust of the Soviet Union made him one of the most consistent champions of cold war hostility toward Moscow. That same conviction fueled his enthusiasm for a strong national defense, achieved by generous spending for weapons and Armed Forces.

After the Nixon administration negotiated SALT I with the Soviets, it then had to negotiate it anew with HENRY JACKSON. Before he gave his assent—necessary to win Senate approval—he forced concessions. He later denounced the SALT II accord as "appeasement" and was instrumental in blocking Senate ratification of it. His unstinting support of U.S. intervention in Vietnam and espousal of the "domino theory" alienated him from many of his fellow Democrats, but HENRY JACKSON always insisted that he, not they, was the true adherent to Roosevelt-Truman-Kennedy liberalism.

And liberal he was on domestic affairs, consistently. He was a proud New Deal Democrat; he believed in big government. He was pro-civil rights: His children attended integrated public schools, and he first gained national notice by leading Senate critics against the demagoguery of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

He was pro-labor and pro-consumer: Unions could count on his vote, and he fought tirelessly to restrain energy prices and to impose a windfall profits tax on oil. As chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, later named the Energy Committee, Senator JACKSON was perhaps the big oil companies' most formidable foe during the 1970's.

He was pro-environment: He authored the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act, which created the Environmental Protection Agency and is perhaps the Nation's most important environmental law. He was skilled at balancing environmental needs against requirements for economic growth.

No official in Washington was more dedicated to Israel. He also coauthored the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which denied the Soviets trade concessions unless they eased Jewish emigration.

The list of his achievements, lengthy as it is, could not show what a political professional HENRY JACKSON was. Voters in Washington State never gave him less than a mandate. His peers in Washington, D.C., marveled at his skill as a legislator, a powerbroker, a builder of coalitions.

President Kennedy considered making him his running mate. President Nixon asked him to be his Secretary of Defense, but was turned down. HENRY JACKSON himself twice sought the Presidency, in 1972 and 1976, but the times did not match the man. Though never President, SCOOP JACKSON influenced America perhaps as much as any recent leader outside the Oval Office. His leadership will be missed.



[From the Catholic Northwest Progress, Sept. 8, 1983]

HENRY M. JACKSON, R.I.P.

(By George Weigel)

In his now-classic essay on Tolstoy, Sir Isaiah Berlin discussed the difference between the hedgehog and the fox. Most of us are foxes; we are interested in many things, driven by no one compelling passion, content to bounce from issue to issue and concern to concern, rarely worried about how it all fits together. The hedgehog, on the other hand, is slower, uglier, much less romantic. But the hedgehog knows one great thing, and sticks doggedly to that truth in and out of season, to both praise and criticism. A world comprised only of hedgehogs would not be a very attractive, or even healthy, place. But a world without hedgehogs is perhaps in even greater peril.

HENRY M. JACKSON was a hedgehog in an era dominated by political foxes. The one great truth he knew—that totalitarianism was the most dangerous form of tyranny known to human history, and that the Soviet Union uniquely incarnated the totalitarian antiethic—was popular in the 1950's when JACKSON first came to national attention, unpopular in the late 1960's and early 1970's when he tried to become President, and on the comeback in the 1980's when JACKSON was taken from us so suddenly.

There is a kind of savage irony in the now-unbreakable linkage between the day of his death and the confirmation of his direst warnings about the nature of the Soviet leadership, which had just sacrificed 269 innocent travelers' lives on the altar of its xenophobia.

The consistency of JACKSON's resolute anticommunism almost certainly helped cost him the Presidency. For, in an age dominated by the politics of accommodation, HENRY JACKSON could come across like the legendary fundamentalist minister who was once haranguing a congregation about the evils of sin and the pains of hell. After an hour of fire and brimstone, the minister ended with the familiar Gospel text, "There will be great weeping and gnashing of teeth!" At which point an old woman said in a loud stage whisper, "But I don't have any teeth." To which the minister replied, "Teeth will be provided!" This is how much of the media postmortem on JACKSON is being written: JACKSON as anti-Communist fundamentalist, the "last cold warrior," the consummate "hawk."

There can be no doubt about the depth of JACKSON anticommunism and his firm belief that democracy required a stable, effective military shield against Soviet aggression. But to reduce JACKSON worldview and policies to the bumper-sticker level of "last cold warrior" is an exercise in laziness, ignorance, or political malice. For HENRY JACKSON remained, throughout his entire public life, a liberal internationalist as well as an anti-Communist.

Like the forces in the American trade union movement with which he was so long allied, JACKSON knew that an exclusively military response to Soviet power, particularly in third world situations that cried out for social change, was certainly bound to fail. Over the past year, JACKSON has been bringing this kind of thinking to bear on the tortured region of Central America. He clearly understood the Soviets' stake in a destabilized isthmus on our Southern borders. But JACKSON insisted that the "security shield" we should help erect in the region be shielding genuine social, economic, and political reform, and not the power of the oligarchs.

Those who are ready to dismiss HENRY JACKSON as merely another hardware-crazed militarist tend to forget that it was JACKSON who, with other like-minded Democratic centrists, reestablished human rights as a central goal of U.S. foreign policy (long before Jimmy Carter was visible on the national radar). And it was this commitment to human rights, I think, that was the deepest level of JACKSON's anticommunism. HENRY JACKSON knew, in his heart and in his bones, what totalitarianism did to people; and it revolted him.

Not for him the back-slapping exchanges with the masters of the Gulag in which so many "conservative" businessmen have engaged. HENRY JACKSON was willing to do business with the Soviet Union; but political business, the business of blunting the course of Soviet power and getting agreement between our two countries on the rules that would govern international behavior.

JACKSON's genius, too often obscured by both his rhetoric and the national media's stereotyping, was to understand that the problem of Soviet power and the urgent problem of war were inextricably linked in our age. One had to face the full measure of the Soviet threat; but one also had to consider (as he would surely have had us consider in the wake of the Korean Air Lines crime) that other than military responses to the threat were often most effective. Neither accommodation to Soviet power nor hysterical disengagement from dealings with the U.S.S.R., but a careful, long term effort to change the way the Soviet leadership dealt with the world, so that the words "international community" would mean something more than bland piety; that was the JACKSON perspective and prescription.

That wisdom, which JACKSON at his best represented better than any other public figure, must not be allowed to die with him.



[From the Albuquerque (N. Mex.) Tribune, Sept. 6, 1983]

HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON

The death of Senator HENRY JACKSON removes one of the giants from the National Legislature.

The Democrat from the State of Washington was not among those flamboyant legislators who are more froth than substance. He was solid, hard working, honest—one of those men who forms the backbone of Congress.

It was a mark of the respect in which he was held that he had strong support from elements ranging across the political spectrum. Organized labor, the Jewish community, civil rights activists, hardliners on defense, staunch anti-Communists—all liked the cut of his job. Democratic and Republican Presidents alike sought his counsel.

JACKSON's diligence accounted for the acquisition of his nickname. As a 15-year-old in Everett, Wash., he delivered so many copies of the hometown newspaper without complaint from subscribers that they started calling him "SCOOP."

Many of his political colleagues thought JACKSON was among the most qualified Americans for the Presidency. But that job eluded him, though he tried for it twice.

He was an expert on energy matters, a staunch supporter of Israel, a friend of organized labor. He was a strong supporter of civil rights; it was typical of JACKSON that he quietly sent his children to public integrated schools while many other politicians who bragged about their civil rights records sent their children to private schools.

Perhaps he is best known for his support of a strong defense. He knew the Nation needed it in a world in which one of the superpowers was the Soviet Union. He once said the Soviet leadership reminded him of "burglars walking down a hotel hallway, trying every door."

A friend who is a heart specialist said JACKSON's anger over the Soviet's downing of a Korean commercial airliner may have contributed to his fatal heart attack. Just hours before, he had appeared at a press conference in Everett to denounce the Soviet attack.

JACKSON's presence will be missed on Capitol Hill. He was a superb legislator. He also was one swell fellow.



[From the Albuquerque (N. Mex.) Journal, Sept. 3, 1983]

WASHINGTON'S SENATOR JACKSON DIES

Death has robbed the U.S. Senate of an eloquent voice for a strong national defense in the passing of Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON (D-Wash.), in his home State Thursday.

One of the most influential Senators on the Democratic side of the aisle, JACKSON twice sought his party's nomination for the Presidency. He was an ar-

ticulate friend of Israel and was instrumental in the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency.

On a personal level, he had a tie to Albuquerque and New Mexico. His widow, Helen Hardin Jackson is a former Albuquerque resident. She and JACKSON were married in Albuquerque in 1961 after JACKSON met her working as a receptionist for the late Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D-N. Mex.).

Considered one of "the last of the cold warriors" by his colleagues, JACKSON died shortly after holding a news conference to condemn the Soviet Union for shooting down a civilian airliner.

His death leaves a void in the national leadership that will not be quickly nor easily filled.



[From the Albuquerque (N. Mex.) Tribune, Sept. 10, 1983]

FOND MEMORIES OF SCOOP JACKSON

(By Eileen Grevey Clifford)

In 1973-74, as a staff member on the U.S. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I came to know Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON. It was a rare privilege that stirs fond memories of him in the wake of his unexpected death last week.

Senator JACKSON, as the Tribune noted editorially, was a true giant in Congress. He generally took on only those issues in which he was very knowledgeable and to which he was extremely committed.

Once involved, he would doggedly pursue his objective, even if it took years, to its successful resolution. It was this tenacity for "doing his homework" and then getting the job done that earned the respect of his colleagues and made him one of a handful of powerful Senators.

Ironically, the same qualities that made him so effective as a Senator kept SCOOP from being a viable Presidential candidate. He was a man of substance, not charisma, and he was neither interested in nor capable of imagemaking.

Through two bids for the Presidency, Senator JACKSON handicapped himself by refusing to go the last mile with the imagemakers. He would not master the glib cliches that can get a candidate through a subject he wants to avoid.

While quite warm in person, JACKSON came across as very somber on TV. Well-wishers often suggested he should smile more in front of the cameras.

I was there once when someone made this suggestion to him and he replied: "Look, I'm not running for cheerleader. I'm seeking the Office of President of the United States and in general, that's pretty serious business."

One of the few concessions he did make to television ended in abject, if somewhat humorous, failure. It involved the design of a man's suit so that when he has a long sit-down interview, the suit collar doesn't bunch up in the back, making him appear hunched over.

Such a suit was tailored for SCOOP. The only problem was that this suit was dark blue and not easily distinguishable from most of his other suits. Somehow, SCOOP always managed to wear the sitting-down suit when standing up and standing-up suits while being interviewed sitting down.

Is it possible that such shenanigans could have cost him—and the country—his chance to be President?

Though he was generally considered liberal, JACKSON was known as a hard-liner on defense. When questioned on this, he would reply, "I don't know if I'm a hawk or a dove. I just don't want my country to become a pigeon."

How sad that the author of this remark should die within hours after delivering publicly a scathing attack on the Soviet Union for downing a civilian jet-liner.

The Nation has suffered a great loss in the death of Senator JACKSON. However, it is my sincere belief that his legacy is a Government that is stronger for his having been a part of it.



[From the Palo Alto (Calif.) Times Tribune]

A BIG GAP IN THE SENATE

Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON was a profound asset to his fellow Washington State residents, nine U.S. Presidents and the masses of America during his 43 years of congressional service.

The lawmaker's death last week at 71, shortly after his return from an exhausting mission to the People's Republic of China, has brought a torrent of tributes from those who knew the man and the politician best of all. The best of these eulogies fittingly have been devoid of partisan overtones.

JACKSON deserves this Nation's everlasting praise and respect for a lifetime of unswerving patriotism and demonstrable concern for Americans at all economic levels. He was an unbudging hawk on military readiness and outspoken against this country's enemies. But liberalism also was prominent in his long elective service, for his basic humanitarianism was never in doubt.

A Senate colleague, Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), perhaps summed it up best in a simple eulogy to the son of Norwegian immigrants:

"There is a great emptiness in the Senate with him gone."

JACKSON, a two-time contender for the Presidency, made huge contributions in the Senate and far beyond its confines.



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post Intelligencer, Sept. 8, 1983]

I'LL MISS THE CALLS FROM SCOOP

(By Miner Baker)

No doubt hundreds of individuals knew SCOOP JACKSON better than I did. Many will chronicle his legislative accomplishments, his tireless campaigning, his political acumen, and his power.

I write of a man who made me his friend and revealed a facet that may not have been immediately apparent to the others. Does this account of Senator JACKSON belong in the business section? You bet * * * because no one in public life had a more thorough understanding of the practical operation of the American business system. No one was a better friend of business, as he

was also a friend of labor and consumers. He saw that the whole was greater than the parts.

Friends and foes alike marveled at SCOOP's ability, with a voting record as liberal as any in the Senate, to maintain an almost unparalleled base of personal and financial support from corporate executives. He could do it because he did not dissemble. He was straightforward about the need for legislation on environment, working conditions, civil rights, and welfare.

He was working to improve the system not change its nature. He respected the business establishment as he cherished the U.S. Senate. He got things done for the business establishment but he was never a flunky.

FIRST CAMPAIGN

How do I know these things? SCOOP and I were contemporaries at the University of Washington but I didn't know him then. I met him first during his first campaign for Congress, and I was moved by his sincerity. The feeling was reinforced by later occasional and always brief encounters.

During my years as economist for the bank, he sometimes sent me an item of interest—a clipping with a scrawled note, "Maybe you should look into this. SCOOP."

His staff made appointments for me when I wanted access to the leading economists in Government. Once I had lunch with him in the Senate dining room. He talked mostly about the remarkable ability of Hubert Humphrey, then Vice President, to juggle 9 or 10 political balls at once without a miscue. His praise for a fellow pro was fulsome and sincere.

This was the sum total of my association with HENRY JACKSON before my retirement from the bank 4 years ago. But I felt he was a friend. And the little dibdabs of correspondence revealed something of what was on the Senator's mind.

Not many months after we settled into our new home in the foothills, he called from Washington. "This is SCOOP JACKSON." I would have said, "You're kidding," but I knew the voice. He asked about personal things, said he hoped we'd get better acquainted now, then rambled a bit about some current legislation.

A WILLING BACKBOARD

The next time it was Tora who answered the phone. My wife is not easily awed but she said, "Oh, Senator JACKSON!" "No," he said, "this is SCOOP." What did he want that time? My opinion about a prominent economist.

This was all very heady for me. Each time SCOOP called I was afraid I wouldn't hear from him again; 2, 3 months later he would call.

I kidded about this, told my friends that SCOOP would call and tell me what he thought, then say, "That's right, isn't it?" And if I agreed, then it was right; and if I disagreed, then it was still right.

But it wasn't really like that. Like all of us, the Senator had some uncertainties in his mind, and it was my good fortune that he found me a willing backboard against which to bounce his ideas.

He was concerned, as every political figure should be, with resolving the apparent contradiction between security for individuals and incentives for business.

SCOOP has been described as a workaholic. That's not an appropriate term, because his work was also his recreation. He worried about adjusting to life without that work. Was his death untimely at 71? For us, yes. For him, I say thank God he didn't have to retire.



[From the Yakima (Wash.) Herald-Republic, Sept. 4, 1983]

JACKSON'S DEATH SHOCKS THE STATE

He was the stuff which legends are made.

With the passing of Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON last week certainly an era in State, National and international politics ended. During the course of an illustrious career that began with election as Snohomish County prosecutor at age 26 and subsequently spanned 43 years in the Congress of the United States, SCOOP JACKSON served his State and country well.

It would take reams of paper to chronicle that unbelievably effective career as a public servant. But what is unquestionably the most noteworthy accomplishment is the reputation SCOOP JACKSON built as a fearless campaigner for human rights, a champion of his country and for just plain being an honest, hard-working, no-nonsense solon of unquestioned integrity.

It was always somewhat amusing when referring to that longtime Senate delegation from this State to point out SCOOP JACKSON was the "junior" Senator until after the 1980 election. That, of course, was because the "senior" man was venerable Warren G. Magnuson, who won his trip to the Senate several years before JACKSON moved over from the House in 1952. But for the decades that followed before Magnuson's defeat in 1980, the Magnuson-Jackson team in the U.S. Senate was to become, hands down, the most powerful, effective tandem in the history of this Nation. There was nothing "junior" about JACKSON's performance and record.

As newspaper folk, we were keenly aware of JACKSON's accessibility when in the State. On numerous occasions the Herald-Republic editorial board discussed local, State, National and even international issues at length with him and we were always impressed with his grasp of those issues.

JACKSON was something of a paradox in his legislative career. He was an unabashed liberal on social issues, a man who could spearhead the writing of the Nation's first major piece of environmental legislation—the national Environmental Policy Act in 1969. At the same time he was one of the Senate's most outspoken hawks on defense matters, a man who could block Senate ratification of the SALT II treaty because he thought it was weighted too much in favor of the Soviets. Dubbed one of the last of the cold warriors, it was ironic, but perhaps fitting, that on the day he died SCOOP JACKSON held one last press conference to denounce the Soviet Union for shooting down an unarmed commercial jetliner Thursday.

Soon the scramble to replace him will begin, with the task of appointing a new Senator falling on Gov. John Spellman. Then will come the election in November to pick a permanent replacement. But in the meantime, before politics as usual, let us honor the memory of a man who was indeed a legend in his own lifetime.

A Washington State congressional delegation with neither Magnuson nor JACKSON? Somehow it just doesn't seem possible * * *



HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON: A LEGEND AND A LEGACY

(By Mayor Frank Ivancie, Portland, Oreg.)

The title on the door was: "HENRY M. JACKSON, U.S. Senator, State of Washington." And, indeed, for 43 years he served that State well.

He brought irrigation and reclamation projects to the eastern part of the State and defense contracts to its western cities. He helped bring the shipyard to Bremerton, the nuclear reactor to Hanford, and the navy base to Oak Harbor. He looked after his own.

The door could have had other titles. It could have said: "HENRY M. JACKSON, U.S. Senator for the Pacific Northwest." It was his understanding, his knowledge, his determination that, in large measure, were responsible for bringing regional projects like the Columbia River hydroelectric system and the 40-foot channel to completion.

The door could have had a third title: "HENRY M. JACKSON, U.S. Senator for the People of the United States." He had a fervent dedication to a strong Nation and a Nation that spoke with authority and firmness. He also had a fervent dedication to the environment, parks, and energy independence. He was the driving force behind the Environmental Quality Act of 1968, and the establishment of Washington State's North Cascades National Park and the Alaska pipeline.

Finally, the door could have had the title: "HENRY M. JACKSON, U.S. Senator for the World." He had a compassion for the dispossessed, the hungry third world nations, and human rights.

He was a quiet man, serious without being stern. Hard working. The son of Norwegian immigrants, he worked his way through college and law school during the heart of the Depression as a dishwasher and waiter. He was only 28 when first elected to Congress in 1940. As a liberal Democrat, he served six terms in the House of Representatives—with time out for Army duty during World War II—before beginning his long term in the Senate in 1953.

He was one of the very powerful political figures of our time—and certainly one of the least pretentious. The working man could approach him as easily as the president of a corporation. He was more given to action than rhetoric. He was a strong supporter of labor (his father had been a union man and so had he, in his youth), of civil rights, of the American Indian, of the poor, and the unemployed.

For many he represented the American dream—the son of an immigrant laborer/carpenter from a small, smokey mill town on the Western frontier (that was Everett at the start of the century). He was a U.S. Senator and almost became President of the United States. He wanted very much to be President and he would have been a good one.

He lost his bid for the Presidency twice. It saddened him. But it didn't sour him or slow him down. He was a great Senator.

He was also a friend. When I needed help, it was HENRY M. JACKSON who came to my rescue as speaker for my fundraiser. When I visited Washington, D.C., his door was always open and I took advantage of it. He was an inspiration. It was an education to discuss regional, national, and international affairs with him. I shall never forget the sincerity and earnestness of the man.

The monuments to HENRY M. JACKSON are his accomplishments and the public service legacy he leaves behind. Miss him, we may; but we should give thanks for his time among us.

Washington State claims him as a native son. The Democratic party claims him as one of their own. But, first and foremost, he was a great American.



[From the Gilroy (Calif.) Dispatch, Sept. 9, 1983]

“SCOOP” JACKSON: ONE OF THE BEST

It seemed oddly apt, if unfair, that HENRY JACKSON died in the shadow of a major news event that all but obscured his passing. For more than four decades, JACKSON toiled in public service and achieved a great deal without gaining the public notice he deserved. His bland, straight-arrow style may have been partly responsible for that.

No hint of scandal or doubledealing ever tainted JACKSON, but honesty was not his only strong suit. Early on, he fought Joseph McCarthy at a time when that took great courage. He authored legislation creating the Environmental Protection Agency. And he wrote the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which forbade the United States from granting trade concessions to countries restricting emigration, an act aimed at Moscow's treatment of Jews that foreshadowed Jimmy Carter's human rights policy. JACKSON was not a wealthy man, but he donated all his earnings from speeches to a scholarship fund for needy students.

Critics called him the “Senator from Boeing,” a jibe JACKSON took in stride. The fact the manufacturer is the largest employer in Washington State obviously had something to do with it, but so did the Senator's unshakeable conviction that the Soviet Union is an untrustworthy adversary and that the best guarantee against war is a strong Defense Establishment. He also endorsed this country's participation in Vietnam, a position that forever deprived him of support from the left wing of his party, a price he paid willingly for holding—as he always did—to his convictions.

HENRY JACKSON never achieved his highest aspiration—the Presidency—but his long and distinguished career, and his uncompromising dedication to the principles he held, constitute an enduring memorial to one of the finest U.S. Senators of our time.

[From the Port Angeles (Wash.) Chronicle, Sept. 7, 1983]

HENRY M. JACKSON: 1912-83

(By Del Price)

It is hard to believe that Senator HENRY M. JACKSON is dead. "SCOOP" has been part of our lives for so many years that it seemed he would go on forever. Even at 71 he appeared healthy and vigorous. He took care of himself with good living habits and regular exercise. While we mourn his death, we can give thanks that he died suddenly and at his home in Everett, close to family and friends. It would have been tragic to see a man of such outstanding qualities and intellect linger on, perhaps incapacitated.

SCOOP leaves many friends here on the Peninsula as well as throughout the world. Only a few days ago he sent a letter of condolence after the death of Mary Brown, his longtime friend and supporter in Sequim. He always remembered old friends like Mary, Emerson Lawrence, and Frank Feeley. People who campaigned for SCOOP in the early days before his bandwagon grew into a political juggernaut.

He liked people and they liked him. The lopsided victories at the polls proved that. He greeted people with a sincere, straightforward manner no matter what their station in life was. Perhaps it was part of his working-class roots that gave him the ability to mix comfortably with world leaders and ordinary folks alike.

He took his work seriously from the time he delivered newspapers as a boy in Everett, to the time he became one of the most powerful Members of the U.S. Senate. While his serious nature endeared him to Washington State voters, it hampered his two Presidential bids. SCOOP just did not make it in national politics where 20 seconds of television time turns voters on or off.

Thousands of words have been said about SCOOP JACKSON since his death Thursday night. His life and his accomplishments will fill history books, and students will read about an era in Washington State history that will never be matched. The years of the "Gold Dust Twins," JACKSON and Magnuson in the U.S. Senate were extraordinary, but now they are gone.

We join in thought and spirit the many friends and relatives at his funeral today in Everett. He will be missed by all.



[From the Catholic Northwest Progress, Sept. 8, 1983]

SENATOR WILL BE MISSED

(By Father D. Harvey McIntyre)

The death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, understandably a deep loss to his family, also constitutes a significant void for the people of Washington State and the Nation.

Senator JACKSON continued service in Congress, stretching well over four decades, has elevated him to senior status on the Hill, which earned him key committee assignments. As a result, issues of deep concern to Washington citi-

zens received more attention and response in Congress because of his influential advocacy. Just as the absence of that influential voice brings a void into the promotion of concerns for the general community, so too will it bring a void into the promotion of several issues within the church community.

While the Senator's positions were not consistently in harmony with church organizations like the Catholic Conference or Network, a Catholic lobby for social justice, his office was always just as accessible to discuss those areas of disagreement as those where there was agreement. The Senator held an opposite position to the Catholic Conference on abortion, and lately has held some differences on tuition tax credits. In recent years the divergency on defense issues became much wider. At the same time, on domestic social issues, the Senator was frequently on a common footing with the Conference and Network on such Federal issues as the budget, jobs, legislation, voting rights, and immigration.

My first personal experience of the Senator's influential advocacy on behalf of social programs occurred in the 1960's antipoverty programs initiated by the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) during President Johnson's administration. As a founder of Project CARITAS, located at St. Peter Claver Interracial Center, I served as a member of the Seattle-King County Economic Opportunity Board. When national funding for the EOA legislation was in jeopardy, I was sent by the local board to lobby the State congressional delegation for support. Senator JACKSON offered total support for the legislation and called other Members of the delegation off the floor of Congress to meet with me in an effort to solicit their support. Congress supported the necessary level of funding for the Economic Opportunity Act.

My last experience of the Senator's concern for the social needs of our society occurred March 30 of this year when he was endeavoring to respond to the emergency housing requirements of the needy in Washington State. He invited me to join with a dozen community leaders, local government officials, and military officers he had assembled in an effort to secure the use of all available military facilities as temporary emergency housing sites.

Washington State indeed will notice for years to come the absence of this energetic, influential voice on Washington, D.C.'s, Capitol Hill.

Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen has issued the following statement concerning the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON:

"Senator JACKSON was an outstanding public servant, an uncommonly dedicated and capable political leader. His passing is a severe loss to the people of this State and of our Nation as well. He will long be remembered as a man of courage, compassion and unswerving conviction. His wife and family have my heartfelt sympathy and prayerful support at this difficult moment."

The archbishop sent a telegram of condolence to Mrs. Jackson on behalf of the people of the Archdiocese of Seattle.

A STATESMAN PASSES

With the passing of "SCOOP" JACKSON last week, the country lost another of a rapidly disappearing breed—the statesman.

America has a long history of political statesmen. They spend their lives as revered, even loved, members of their constituencies, becoming almost legendary in reputation. Their characters are almost above reproach—even their foibles are remembered with humor instead of disgust—and if you disagreed with their opinions you at least had to respect them. A statesman, after all, knows about such matters: "You keep the shop, we'll take care of the ship of state."

Sometimes the rarely checked power of a Member of Congress can ruin a character and wipe out a career of public service—some people are not cut out to be statesmen. But Washington residents were fortunate enough to have two unquestionable statesmen serving them in the U.S. Senate concurrently: HENRY JACKSON and Warren Magnuson.

As many have noted since JACKSON's death last Thursday, it is strangely ironic that Magnuson, 78, was retired by Washington voters in 1980, largely because they perceived the elder statesman was in poor health and was getting too old to be effective despite his mammoth clout in the Senate. JACKSON, then 68, in comparison was almost a health fanatic, seemingly indestructible. Voters made the choice to replace Magnuson with Slade Gorton; after all they still had JACKSON's prestige and seniority, and most likely would have had it for at least 5 more years. Fate, however, blinds the foresight of men.

Barring a remote scenario in which Magnuson is restored to the Senate, Washington now has less than 2 years of political experience in that body and, more important, only 2 years of seniority. It is truly the end of a powerful era for the State. Truthfully, much of what Washington is today has depended on the congressional influence of Magnuson and JACKSON.

Beyond Washington's loss, though, JACKSON's passing means the country will have one less freethinking public servant. The Senator's grip on the Washington electorate allowed him to speak his mind without fear of reprisal at the polls. Over the years his most remembered posture was his fierce mistrust of the Soviet Union and the intentions of its government. A frontline "cold warrior," JACKSON alternately drew praise and scorn for what many felt was a pro-military philosophy of government.

In actuality, however, many claim JACKSON was much more pro-freedom than pro-military or anti-Soviet. It was his love of the freedom his country afforded him that spurred his attacks on the Soviet Union according to those who knew him best.

Now that he is gone, Washington State will be hard pressed to find another of his caliber. During a time when paranoid Presidents lie to protect themselves and their office, when Members of Congress use their position for personal monetary or material gain, when the media is full of stories questioning the moral character of our elected leaders, it was nice to have good old steady, cantankerous "SCOOP" JACKSON around to look out for our interests.

Now he's gone. As a Senator, the State must replace him. As a statesman, he cannot be replaced.



[From the Peninsula (Wash.) Times-Tribune, Sept. 7, 1983]

A BIG GAP IN THE SENATE

Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON was a profound asset to his fellow Washington State residents, nine U.S. Presidents and the masses of America during his 43 years of congressional service.

The lawmaker's death last week at 71, shortly after his return from an exhausting mission to the Peoples Republic of China, has brought a torrent of tributes from those who knew the man and the politician best of all. The best of these eulogies fittingly have been devoid of partisan overtones.

JACKSON deserves this Nation's everlasting praise and respect for a lifetime of unswerving patriotism and demonstrable concern for Americans at all economic levels. He was an unbudging hawk on military readiness and outspoken against this country's enemies. But liberalism also was prominent in his long elective service, for his basic humanitarianism was never in doubt.

A Senate colleague, Patrick Moynihan of New York, perhaps summed it up best in a simple eulogy to the son of Norwegian immigrants:

"There is a great emptiness in the Senate with him gone."

JACKSON, a two-time contender for the Presidency, made huge contributions in the Senate and far beyond its confines.



[From the Island County (Wash.) Reporter, Sept. 6, 1983]

LIFETIME OF SERVICE WON'T BE FORGOTTEN

Even in this community where the GOP traditionally reigns supreme, SCOOP JACKSON was a sure-win in the ballot box. Islanders gave him close to a 2-to-1 edge over Doug Jewett in 1982; in 1976 he did even better than that against George Brown.

That really doesn't come as any surprise; this State's most popular votegetter spent most of his adult life serving the people of Washington. In those decades of service, he touched the lives of many, as tributes to the Senator in recent days have indicated. It says something about the man that those fond remembrances and words of sympathy have come from near and far: the Reagan White House; neighborhood taverns in his hometown of Everett; world capitals; the Seattle chapter of Hadassah.

While JACKSON was well-known internationally for his strong stance on defense issues, he was known at home for his concern about people. On his last public appearance on the Island just prior to the 1976 general election JACKSON talked about the need to get people back to work. Maintaining a high unemployment level among young people in this Nation's cities is "inviting disaster," he warned. He talked about putting together a public works jobs program, which finally happened several years later.

Partisan battles are already shaping up over a replacement for JACKSON, although Democratic and Republican leaders alike seem to agree filling his shoes may be an impossible task.

But as we ponder the election season upon us and study the host of local candidates who have agreed to put their names on the ballot, we're glad there are people who will carry on, who are willing to commit themselves to public service as SCOOP JACKSON did so unselfishly for so long.



[From the World, Sept. 5, 1983]

KARL STOFFEL REMEMBERS PRIVATE JACKSON

(By Bob Woods)

When a friend dies, there seems always to be that question: "I wonder if he really knew how much he was appreciated?"

It is like that with the passing of Senator SCOOP, 40-year friend.

I'd like to share with you one little story about SCOOP which I think tells something more than the regular political and friendly commentary.

I met SCOOP when he was a Second District Congressman in 1942, when we were just becoming immersed in World War II. I was an assistant to the late Walt Horan, newly elected Fifth District Congressman. SCOOP was a bachelor, good looking, and very knowledgeable about the Capitol. He and his own chief assistant, Johnny Salter, although on the opposite sides of the political fence, were tremendously helpful and many times while playing penny ante poker they smoothed the way for a greenhorn.

But the point of the story is that as the war progressed and the manpower shortage became acute Capitol Hill became more and more deserted of eligible military and governmental workers. Even overage Congressmen were besieging the Army and Navy for commissions or for opportunities to serve.

Congressman SCOOP JACKSON was different. He very quietly straightened out his affairs, turned over the representative correspondence and chores to John Salter, and joined the Army, not as a commissioned officer but as a buck private.

Who knows what sort of a military career SCOOP might have had? He didn't get the chance. After a short while in jungle warfare training in and around Florida, and with dozens of his Capitol Hill cohorts gone and leaving, President Roosevelt called an end to it. He recalled SCOOP and others to civilian duty. In other words, SCOOP JACKSON's GI duties were summarily ended by Presidential edict.

I was flying home to check with my own draft board (and believe me to get on a transcontinental airline at that time was something else), when I was displaced in Cincinnati by some brass-wearing VIP and told to wait for another flight.

Sitting around in the rather barren airport waiting room on wooden benches were half a dozen other lesser important travelers. Among them, dressed in Army fatigues with a duffelbag by his side was Congressman (Private) SCOOP JACKSON. He'd taken a "bump" along with the others and was waiting his turn to get on another flight. He was going home before going back to his Capitol

Hill desk and civilian duties. We eventually flew together back to Washington State.

Many times afterward I reminded SCOOP of his passing up VIP status and his only reply was the famous half-smile. He was a very fine, very human sort of a man and I'm happy to have had the opportunity to know him as a friend and Senator.



[From the Snohomish County (Wash.) Tribune, Sept. 7, 1983]

HE GAVE POLITICS A GOOD NAME

The Tribune joins the people of Snohomish County, the State, country and world in mourning the death of Senator HENRY JACKSON.

He gave politics a good name.

The Senator served with distinction in a career choice frequently viewed with suspicion in these cynical times. Even though his politics weren't always popular with everyone there was never any doubt he represented his constituents, State and country with honesty, intelligence, hard work, and determination—maintaining the highest standards of public service.

The last time we met him was at the opening of the First Heritage Bank in Snohomish. That occasion was not the "grand opening" of the new building. The event took place in a tent adjacent to a mobile structure serving as the bank's temporary headquarters. The surroundings were not "plush" but JACKSON, one of the most powerful men in the country, was there.

At that time he praised the people of this area for having the confidence to undertake the challenge of developing a homeowned, independent bank in bleak economic times. He related his background and his confidence in this country's future and its roots in self-reliance and determination. He was at home with the smalltown businessmen, the farmers, the people he represented.

He gave politics a good name.



[From the Mount Vernon (Wash.) Skagit Valley Herald, Sept. 7, 1983]

THE WORLD WILL MISS HENRY M. JACKSON

The world is bidding farewell to an institution in Everett today. Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, one of the greatest men this State has ever produced, is gone.

The sudden death of JACKSON comes as a shock, for he was seemingly a tireless man who hardly had begun to show his 71 years. On the one hand, it seems best that he died while he was still going strong—on a day when the world had looked to him for guidance during its most recent crisis. On the other, one can't help but think that he deserved some pleasant retirement after his long career in Congress.

HENRY JACKSON stood apart from lesser political figures because he was tough enough and brave enough to tell his constituents exactly what he thought. Few of his constituents agreed with him on every issue, but they always knew where he stood.

JACKSON worked hard to improve education and protect the environment. He pushed urban development and human rights. He also understood what makes Washington's economy tick and did his share to keep it ticking.

Most Americans, however, will remember JACKSON for his commitment to national defense, his impact on arms control talks and his strong support for Israel.

HENRY JACKSON was a man of honor and strength who expected his country to operate with those attributes. He was a great friend of Skagit and Island Counties, and he will be greatly missed here.

At present it's unclear how JACKSON's replacement in the Senate will be chosen, much less who it will be. Whoever it is will be measured against a monumental yardstick.



[From the Auburn (Wash.) Globe News, Sept. 4, 1983]

OPINION

THE NATION'S LOST A VALUED FRIEND

There was everything to applaud and little to criticize in the life of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, whose death Thursday night shocked and saddened friends and political foes.

SCOOP JACKSON was a man all of us can emulate.

He was one of those rare political specimens, a man dedicated to the service of his State and country, a tireless worker—some would say a workaholic—a skilled legislative craftsman who could bring both sides of the aisle together in compromise, a man of integrity and principle who would sooner quit public life than alter his basic beliefs and values in favor of political expediency.

And in a political career spanning nearly 45 years beginning with his election as prosecuting attorney in Snohomish County, there was no hint of scandal, no tarnish.

In the past 2 days, one official after another has lauded that one predominant trait in JACKSON, the fact that whether or not you agreed with him on a particular issue, his word was everything. You trusted the man.

Through the years, his peace-through-strength philosophy and his ever suspicious view of Soviet intentions fell in and out of fashion, but he never betrayed those values. And it was those beliefs which prompted him to visit Red China, his fourth visit, during the last half of August.

On that trip, JACKSON wore himself out campaigning for better relations between the two countries, something he strongly felt was vital to world stability.

Quite literally, he died in the line of duty.

The 71-year-old JACKSON returned from the 2-week trip with a heavy cold he caught toward the end of the tour. Despite the nagging cold and a cough which punctuated his conversations, he maintained a full schedule of appointments, telephone calls and a press conference Thursday to express his shock over the Soviet Union's jet fighter attack on a civilian Korean airliner.

His last press conference, fittingly, was vintage SCOOP, with his expressions of deep-felt moral outrage over the Soviet act and a call for a firm response mixed with restraint.

He then went home, complaining of a tightness in his chest, and retired early. The heart attack probably came when he was asleep.

His death is an unestimable loss for the people of the State; as the third highest ranking Member of the Senate, he wielded tremendous power and influence advantageous to Washington. The Nation, too, has lost a strong, unflinching voice for world peace through strength.

And all of us have lost a valued friend.



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post Intelligencer, Sept. 9, 1983]

SCOOP LEAVES US WITH FITTING LEGACY

Good law is so obvious that we wonder how—and why—we ever lived without such legislation before it was passed.

The U.S. Environmental Policy Act of 1969 is good law, excellent law. If history recognizes merit after the meritorious are dead, the Environmental Policy Act would be known as the Jackson Environmental Policy Act.

For it was Senator HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON of Washington State, now 8 days dead and richly eulogized, who created the Environmental Policy Act and who used his power and prestige 14 years ago to move his bill through Congress and onto the desk of President Richard Nixon.

It was a measure of JACKSON's persuasive abilities, sometimes lost to outside observers, that President Nixon, with ceremony and gusto, made signing the act his first official action of 1970, saying it was "now or never" for the United States to move against pollution and unregulated highway building and the following urban sprawl.

HIGH IN NIXON'S REGARD

Nixon's political advisers, of a party different and of views certainly different from JACKSON's on most matters, had wanted the President to seek something less than JACKSON has wrought.

But the President knew JACKSON, trusted him, indeed had considered him for his Cabinet, so high was Nixon's regard, and became converted to what was for many Republicans then and is still a disturbing notion:

That the Federal Government should interpose its power in what had previously been an exercise of private or State power—regulation of actions that might affect the quality of air, water, wilderness, human space, and values.

It was typical for JACKSON that on the day that Nixon signed EPA, JACKSON jogged the President to do more than just speak of a healthy environment.

No one could ever say that JACKSON was generally eloquent of speech, but no one ever denied that he could politely press the points of pressure that forward action in a democracy.

The act was a radical measure in the history of the Republic. For the first time it declared it Federal policy "to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in productive harmony." Up to Jan. 2, 1970, when Nixon signed the act, Federal policy had been mainly to stand aside and let the actions of private persons, corporations, and Government agencies fall

where they might on the general population so far as damaging the environment was concerned.

Jackson's bill, designed for passage by the then Senate Interior Committee, which JACKSON chaired, went far beyond lofty aims, however.

It created and directed the President to listen to an independent council of advisers on environmental policy, thus insuring that the Nation at its highest levels would get constant and objective information on matters impinging on the public health and welfare.

It led to the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency, thus pulling together but giving vastly more power to what had been a hodgepodge of agencies with concerns about environmental quality.

Perhaps most importantly of all—but mainly overlooked in the press reports of the time—EPA directed that all Federal agencies be required to write environmental impact statements and genuinely evaluate their conclusions before taking many major actions.

The importance of these statements cannot be overrated. For the first time agencies like the Army Corps of Engineers had to gather and report and hold hearings on information about the effects of what they proposed to do before they did it. If they do not, then, as a thousand legal cases have proved, they are vulnerable to attack in the courts and to delay and perhaps the ultimate demise of a project.

PUBLIC CAN EDUCATE SELF

Writing an EIS requires that windy promises by officialdom be replaced by science—by exact information about the costs of air, water, wildlife, human society. And the law requires that an EIS must list and detail alternatives to the proposed action.

Thus the public can educate itself before a highway or a dam or a dock is imposed upon it.

This section of EPA has, if nothing else, resulted in a vast body of new knowledge about the things that many large-scale human actions impact, including about human beings. It is not enough any more for an agency routinely to justify pollution or the extinction of a rare species.

By Federal law, and by extension through like State and local laws, the public's right to know has been increased vastly.

SCOOP JACKSON knew that, acted on it and defended it until the day he died. "He protected the environment" would be a fitting epitaph.



[From the Bellingham (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 2, 1983]

HENRY JACKSON, SENATOR

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON was a politician in the best sense of the word. He spent a lifetime practicing the science of democratic government with skill and intelligence.

In return, the people of this State trusted him in a way that is unmatched by any other public official. Election after election they voted for him, whichever way the political winds blew.

Not that HENRY JACKSON shifted with the political winds. He was a man of his roots and his times. Born in Everett, May 31, 1912, the son of Norwegian

immigrants, he combined the tradition of social consciousness of his ancestry with its stubborn adherence to principle.

He earned the nickname "SCOOP" as a paperboy in Everett and managed to work his way through the University of Washington during the Depression. Fresh from law school, he was elected Snohomish County prosecutor and from there on never lost an election.

JACKSON entered Congress in 1938, with a wave of young liberal disciples of President Franklin Roosevelt that included Lyndon Johnson of Texas. They and their country went to war 3 years later. The Depression and World War II shaped their thinking.

Out of the Depression came JACKSON's commitment to social and economic action by Government. Out of the war came a commitment to strong defense.

JACKSON, like most of his generation, believed that World War II would never have started if the Western allies had stood up to Hitler and Tojo, that the terrible price paid in blood by the small, ill-equipped forces of the allies and by their civilians early in the war could have been prevented.

Despite the unpopularity in recent years of HENRY JACKSON's advocacy of a strong military, he never had any trouble at the polls. One reason was that he liked campaigning; he liked people. It was a pleasure to watch him work a Whatcom County crowd, picking out faces and names, recalling previous meetings.

To JACKSON, the voters were never mass statistics to be reached by scientifically adjusting positions to the prevailing winds. Voters were reached by shaking their hands and patiently explaining what was the right thing to do.

HENRY JACKSON never reached the Presidency, although he came close a couple of times. Nevertheless, he shaped his country's Government in a way that only a few in history have. The State of Washington can be proud of its son.



[From the Pullman (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 3, 1983]

SENATOR HENRY JACKSON, 1912-83

(By Floyd Larson)

The unexpected death Thursday night of U.S. Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON is a loss to the State and Nation—and marks an end of an era which saw the rise to political preeminence of several western politicians out of the economic and social ashes of the Great Depression.

JACKSON was one of that breed, who, like Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, former majority leader and now U.S. Ambassador to Japan; former Senator Warren Magnuson of our State; and former Senator Frank Church of Idaho, were able to strike a successful balance between the parochial and national politics.

Their perennial success at the polls often transcended party lines because they used their tenure powers and influences bipartisanly for the most part.

This is not to say that any of them, and Senator JACKSON in particular, could not be the most intense of partisans when the occasion demanded it. He served as national party chairman in the Kennedy years.

The West has always been wary of the so-called Eastern Establishment, yet JACKSON was able to win a modest, but respectable, following in the East in his two unsuccessful bids for the Democratic Presidential nomination, without undermining his home political base.

Always distrustful of the Soviet Union's intentions, JACKSON appealed to many conservatives by maintaining a strong hawkish stance on national security issues despite a significant shift in the other direction by many in his party.

He made no apologies for the epithet bestowed on him by some critics that he "was the Senator from Boeing." This consistent support had nothing to do politically with Boeing management. JACKSON was a pragmatist and to him Boeing success translated into thousands of jobs for his constituents.

Although, his political foes disagreed with him—often quite sharply—on many, many issues; there is no question that he commanded their respect, and at times envious admiration.

Once elected to the Senate, he was returned three times with 70 percent or plus pluralities—which has to be a tribute to his political acumen which enabled him, like many of his contemporary colleagues who are now too gone from the scene, to attract voters from both parties and attain power through tenure.

His death diminishes the State's political clout in the Nation's Capital.

His stature as an expert in foreign affairs, national defense and energy conservation reflected three major areas of Federal impact in our State.

Historians will place Senator JACKSON in a more realistic perspective than we—political friends or foes—can today.

But, we are confident the balance will favor him and his record will show he served his State and his Nation well.

We, and other citizens of this State, now join his family in mourning his untimely passing. Honest political differences aside, Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON was a giant of our time.



[From the Portland Sunday Oregonian, Sept. 4, 1983]

OREGON WILL MISS JACKSON

The death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of a heart attack at age 71 is a serious national loss. His unexpected death will be felt particularly in his own State of Washington, but neighboring States like Oregon also will miss and mourn the Democrat who labored without recompense on countless regional tasks now caught in the web of history.

JACKSON's impact on the Nation was far reaching during his more than 40 years in the Congress, which included 30 Senate years. The Senator from Everett, Wash., set standards for excellence of performance admired by Presidents, his colleagues in all parties and the countless ordinary people he knew and genuinely liked, and for whom he gave much of his life's work.

Washington voters responded, electing him by unprecedented margins. Although his two efforts to get a Presidential nomination failed, he continued to exercise great power in the Senate. He was third on the Senate seniority list at the time of his death and the ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee.

JACKSON was deeply informed on weapons systems, foreign affairs, energy, the environment, civil rights and the big and small problems of his region. Perhaps the biggest regional problem of all, the Washington Public Power Supply System's default on bonds for two nuclear powerplants, will sorely miss JACKSON's expertise and influence as the region struggles back from the disaster.

Oregonians appreciated JACKSON's efforts when he was alive. One of them, Edith Green, the former Congresswoman, recommended JACKSON for President in 1972. One can speculate that the Nation would be a far better place today had JACKSON brought his integrity, his genuine honesty, humility and wide range of talents to the White House at that time.

Oregon's debt to JACKSON was enormous. He helped business people, ordinary citizens with problems and the State's leaders as if Oregon were his own State. And prior to the emergence of Senators Mark Hatfield and Bob Packwood to leadership posts in the Congress, JACKSON often was Oregon's only really influential Senator.

The Oregonian supported JACKSON's Democratic nomination bid in 1972, citing among the reasons his efforts to develop a defense second to none and his authorship of the most influential piece of legislation of the decade, the Environmental Protection Act.

Hardly a major issue of the last 30 years, whether he was affirming a new understanding with Peking where JACKSON visited this summer to confer with the Chinese leaders, or sorting out baffling weapons systems choices, the great oil embargo disruptions, or trying to save the environment, suffered from his neglect or lacked his informed support.

HENRY JACKSON set personal standards in the conduct of politics that made all who knew him feel better for the experience. It is a legacy of excellence, compassion, and national concerns that he leaves, and it is matched by few of the Nation's political leaders.



[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 7, 1983]

THE JACKSON LEGACY

This is not to mourn Senator HENRY JACKSON in death, but to celebrate in life the vibrant legacy of a great American.

That legacy rededicates America to the values that allow it to endure: equality under law, justice and liberty.

It is a legacy of commitment to American institutions: education, free enterprise, ethical public service, and democratic government.

JACKSON's legacy reminds the Nation of its broader place in the world community: a temple of democracy, a bastion of freedom, a shrine of human rights and peace.

It is a legacy of vision: to protect the environment that sustains all life; to provide the energy that powers the Nation's economic engines.

His legacy teaches Americans to practice those simple virtues that make them such a genuinely decent people: Caring, kindness, anonymous charity, reverence, and hard work.

And finally, the JACKSON legacy is one of history: that the Nation must not lose sight of the American experience; and that so instructed, these United States must seek a destiny that is not manifest but that embraces manifestly the highest principles of humankind.



[From the Salem (Oreg.) Statesman-Journal, Sept. 4, 1983]

JACKSON AN EFFECTIVE PATRIOT

His detractors called him "the Senator from Boeing," but Senator HENRY M. JACKSON was really the Senator from the Pacific Northwest. He was an able advocate and friend for the entire region. JACKSON, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, died Thursday night at the age of 71.

"SCOOP" JACKSON, who got his nickname delivering newspapers as a boy, had served in the U.S. Senate since 1952 after six terms in the House of Representatives. JACKSON and Senator Warren Magnuson, who served 28 years in Congress, became effective and powerful advocates for the Northwest during Democratic and Republican administrations.

JACKSON was hawkish on defense and viewed the Soviet Union with distrust. He also was an outspoken defender of Israel. Despite his views on arms, JACKSON was respected by friend and foe for his dedication and high moral character.

JACKSON, hours before his death, had called the destruction of a Korean Air Lines jumbo jetliner "an act of barbarism" by the Soviet Union.

JACKSON had worked effectively with Oregon congressional Representatives over the years in winning appropriations for Northwest projects. The level of Federal spending in Washington State was largely the result of work by JACKSON and Magnuson.

Governor Spellman will name a successor to JACKSON and that successor, who will serve until the 1984 general election, almost certainly will be a Republican although Spellman has said he will not talk about a successor until after JACKSON's services.



[From the Baker (Oreg.) Democrat-Herald, Sept. 5, 1983]

JACKSON WAS A MAN FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLE

Yesterday, U.S. Senator HENRY JACKSON was here, characteristically taking on the Soviet Union for another of its transgressions against mankind.

Today he is gone from us, the victim of a sudden, massive heart attack.

The death of the veteran Senator, 71, on Thursday evening in his hometown Everett, is a shocking loss to the people of this State and to the Nation.

During his more than 30 years in the Senate, JACKSON rose to be one of the most powerful and respected men in that body, and in the United States.

While he lost two bids to be President of the United States, he never lost an election in his 45 years in Congress, more often than not winning by bipartisan landslides, burying his sacrificial Republican opponents.

But JACKSON was much more than a partisan Democrat. Although he associated with world leaders and royalites, he was a man for all of the people, down to the most common, everyday citizen.

He never forgot his roots and never forgot his allegiance and responsibilities to his constituents, the people of this State.

He came to the Lewis County area a number of times, making public appearances and visiting with the media, including stopping in at this newspaper to share with us his viewpoints.

He was a Democrat in the very finest traditions of that party, a man with deep compassion for the common workingman and a patriot's patriot, consistently favoring a strong national defense to keep our free Nation free.

Indeed, the fervent displeasure and anger he expressed at a news conference, just hours before his death, against the Soviet Union for shooting down an unarmed South Korean passenger plane is said by one of his doctors to have very likely contributed to his fatal heart attack.

When Congress reconvenes after its Labor Day recess, there will be a big pair of empty shoes in the Halls of Congress reminding all who knew and worked with the Senator that they will no longer have his long years of experience and wise counsel to call upon.

JACKSON was the ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee and was a powerful and influential member of the Energy and Natural Resources, Governmental Affairs, and Intelligence Committees.

We offer our heartfelt condolences to the Senator's family. The attention after JACKSON is laid to rest (the speculation has already begun) will shift to who Governor Spellman will name as a successor to fill the position until the 1984 general election.

It's expected by all that Spellman will name a Republican.

We trust the Governor will choose one who shares the views the late Senator had on national defense and foreign affairs. That would be a fitting memorial to the departed Senator and to the people who elected him.

Goodbye, SCOOP.



NO. 1 CITIZEN

The untimely death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON robbed the free world of one of its greatest leaders, and took from Washington State its No. 1 citizen. SCOOP JACKSON served in public office for almost half of the 94-year history of Washington State.

When he died he ranked as the No. 1 Washingtonian of all time, and probably 1 of the 10 most influential and effective leaders of the free world.

His statesmanship transcended partisan politics so much that voters returned him to the world's most important legislative body by unprecedented majorities.

His loss will be felt a bit more keenly in Prosser because HENRY JACKSON was the intimate friend of Prosserite Herb Davis with whom he remained in close touch from the time their friendship was formed in college and law school. Others in Prosser became closer to Mr. JACKSON because of the bond between SCOOP and Herb.

Twice Senator JACKSON turned down cabinet appointments. Twice he came close to receiving his party's Presidential nomination and twice he was close to being nominated for Vice President.

Senator JACKSON was a powerful advocate for public power, nuclear energy, national defense, social programs, unions, farmers, and business. He was a Communist fighter. Many disagreed with some of his positions. Virtually none questioned his straight out honesty and integrity.

Although his loss is sudden, unexpected, and painful, it will be good to remember that he spent his last day on earth not in a sick bed, but up on his feet fighting for his State and his country.



SCOOP JACKSON

(By Joseph Kraft)

Any number of Senators can replace SCOOP JACKSON in such specialized areas as energy, defense, civil liberties, and Great Power politics. But nobody else can draw all these themes together in ways that make things happen.

Much fuss has been made as to whether he was a liberal or a conservative. In fact, his shaping political experience was the New Deal. Like all New Dealers, he believed in the power of government to solve problems.

Because his views were so steadfast, he developed over time a personal constituency of extraordinary depth and reach. He won six terms as a Congressman from the State of Washington, and six as a Senator—the last with 69 percent of the vote. No one was closer to the Jewish community in this country. Nor to labor. So unlike almost all other Senators and Congressmen, JACKSON did not merely speak for himself. He commanded by battalions.

Because he had troops and a feel for the Presidential viewpoint, he exerted extraordinary influence on the course of events. He practically determined energy policy. He shaped basic legislation on the environment and the development of water resources. His insistence on tying relations with Russia to explicit guarantees on Jewish emigration frustrated the policy of détente undertaken by Henry Kissinger under Nixon and Ford.

Most important, he personified bipartisan support for a strong defense. Other Senators—notably John Tower, the Texas Republican who now heads the Armed Services Committee, and Sam Nunn, the Georgia Democrat—set as much store by efficient military force as JACKSON. But he alone crossed ideological lines. He fostered trust between the Pentagon and the unions. He kept labor patriotic, and the generals in touch with ordinary people. He thus served as a potent factor in the building of national consensus.

He is the last of a breed. New Senators are made on television, and in an age where ideological fashion is turned against Government. More and more, the Senate is a collection of egos.

Leadership in the Senate, accordingly, has lost its appeal to men of large views and high ability. Howard Baker, the majority leader, is stepping down in large part because the petty quarrels of the Senate afford him scant springboard for the Presidency. John Tower is quitting at least in part because of wounds sustained in a nasty debate over the MX missile last month.

The corrosive forces at work in the Senate operate throughout Government. The quality of Cabinet officers, and Governors, and mayors, has slipped. Private satisfaction exerts, particularly for intelligent people, a stronger appeal than public glory.

Just why is hard to say. There seems to be, as Albert Hirschman has pointed out, a kind of "private-public cycle." Societies, he writes in his fine work "Shifting Involvements," "are in some way predisposed toward vacillation between periods of intense preoccupation with public issues and almost total concentration on private improvement."

If so, the frustration fostered by selfishness will eventually breed a new realization that the "pursuit of happiness" means a quest for public good. When that happens, we may see again the likes of HENRY JACKSON.



"SCOOP" WAS FRIEND TO OREGON

Most Northwesterners can't remember a time when HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON wasn't in Congress. His career in national politics spanned 42 years, 30 of them in the Senate, where he climbed to the third rung on the seniority ladder. JACKSON made himself a fixture of the American political scene, and now, after his sudden death Thursday, the people of his State and his region will have to make a painful adjustment. His energy, integrity and experience will be missed.

Some people who spend a lifetime in Congress owe their political longevity to an ability to avoid controversy. Others owe their lasting popularity at the polls to an ability to avoid personal compromise. JACKSON was one of the latter type. He was a Democrat, but he followed no one's party line but his own. His was a unique voice in the Senate—liberal on some issues, conservative on others, but always speaking from well-informed conviction.

JACKSON was Washington's senior Senator, but Oregonians also looked to him for leadership. Indeed, during the years when Oregon Senator Wayne Morse was giving the word "maverick" a modern definition, JACKSON was often the only influential political figure to whom Oregonians could turn. JACKSON always answered Oregonians' calls. And though those calls have become less frequent with the emergence of Senators Mark Hatfield and Bob Packwood as powerful spokesmen for their State, Oregon should not forget its debt to "SCOOP" JACKSON.

The States of the Northwest are tied together by a shared interest in water, power, and timber resources. For good and for ill, JACKSON's efforts to develop and preserve those resources have left their mark far beyond his own State's borders. Regional energy issues are only one example of the extent of JACKSON's influence: he deserves part of the blame for the Washington Public Power Supply System fiasco, but he also deserves a large measure of credit for regional efforts to conserve energy and coordinate future power development plans.

On national issues, JACKSON once summed up his political philosophy better than anyone else could: "I'm a liberal, but I'm not stupid." That philosophy led him to support his party's efforts to promote civil rights, clean up the environment, and invest in education and antipoverty programs. It also led him to

become one of the Senate's most vocal advocates of a strong military, a nonsense attitude in relations toward the Soviet Union and steadfast support for Israel.

JACKSON twice sought the Democratic Presidential nomination, losing in 1972 to George McGovern and in 1976 to Jimmy Carter. The country might be better off today if JACKSON had won. He had the stamina, the intelligence, and the character to make a good Presidential candidate. Washington, the Northwest and the Nation have lost a leader and a friend.



"SCOOP" JACKSON

The Ship of State has strong characters aboard, and many who are just along for the ride.

Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON of Washington is one who had a hand in steering the ship in his long tenure as a Congressman and Senator. Bold, aggressive, and outspoken, he took a stand on issues according to his basic beliefs. One of his basic beliefs was that the Nation must move with strength.

Classified as a liberal he believed the Nation must have a strong social program. However, he held the commonly conservative position that the Nation must have military strength, which was a position in conflict with his fellow Democrats.

Although necessarily involved in politics, in his devotion to a desirable program as he saw it, he had an element of statesmanship. His attacks were for or against programs rather than against political foes.

His openness and strength won him increasing numbers of backers. Certainly such strength and openness is sorely needed in our legislative bodies.

JACKSON died last week at the age of 71. Rightly, the Nation mourns his loss. His devotion has been unflagging; he has given far more than his share of effort for the common good; his leadership has been strong.

We need many more with his type of devotion in our legislative Halls.



[From the Bend (Oreg.) Bulletin, Sept. 2, 1983]

HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON

One of the Northwest's strongest voices in Washington, Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON, is dead today at the age of 71. JACKSON had served his home State of Washington in the U.S. House and Senate for nearly 45 years.

He served his State well, so well that, when he tried to gain the Democratic party's nomination for President in 1972 and 1976, he found precious little enthusiasm for his effort, even in the neighboring State of Oregon.

JACKSON gained a reputation for being a rare combination—fairly liberal on social issues, yet one of the Senate's most vocal proponents of a strong Defense Establishment. He felt, for example, that Henry Kissinger conceded too much in this country's Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union, and he continued to oppose Jimmy Carter's efforts to negotiate a second

SALT treaty in 1979. At the same time, he managed to garner the support of labor unions and, occasionally, environmentalists.

Washington staters adored JACKSON, and well they should have. Thanks to his efforts and those of his colleague, Senator Warren Magnuson, the State became the Federal Government's home base for the region. A variety of Federal agencies have regional headquarters in Seattle, for example, thanks to them. Sometimes called the Senator from Boeing, his ability to bring Federal dollars home helped that company become the Nation's ninth largest defense contractor.

But JACKSON's attention to his State had a negative side, as well, and that sometimes hurt him. His devotion to Washington, sometimes at the expense even of so close a State as Oregon, diminished his popularity in the region. Thus, when he ran in several Presidential primaries in 1976, most Oregonians were cool to his candidacy.

JACKSON was a strong voice in the Senate, a recognized authority on defense and military spending. Such a voice will not be easy to replace.



[From the Pocatello, Idaho State Journal, Sept. 6, 1983]

HENRY JACKSON

Senator HENRY JACKSON, who died last week, was one of a disappearing breed of politicians, a kind badly needed in the U.S. Senate.

JACKSON had for many years been one of the Nation's most skillful and prolific legislators. He was a natural lawmaker, in fact: he understood the details of legislation, the political realities involved, and the process of putting together coalitions to get results.

In recent years, increasing numbers of confrontation-oriented lawmakers have entered Congress; JACKSON was one of the few left who understood a better way to meld public policy.

He was honest and decent—no scars on a congressional record reaching back to 1941—and contributed positively on a variety of issues, from energy and the environment to the national defense.

He will be missed.



[From the Hood River (Oreg.) News, Sept. 7, 1983]

OUR LOSS, TOO

Death of U.S. Senator HENRY JACKSON of Washington State is a loss that has an impact far beyond the boundaries of the State he represents.

The Everett, Wash., Democrat had become known as a solid leader for a strong America who assumed a leadership role supporting that position both through Republican and Democratic administrations. His stance was not that of a warmonger, but instead of a leader who saw clearly that dealing through strength was the way to assure peace and freedom. Importance of his attitude was never more clear than in the time just before his death, when Soviet fighters shot down an unarmed South Korean airliner with 269 people aboard.

In many cases, it would have been good if Oregon's congressional delegation had emulated JACKSON.

In many other ways, his influence crossed State lines. That was clear at the Bonneville Dam second powerhouse dedication, JACKSON's last appearance in this area. It was apparent that the influence and prestige JACKSON had brought to bear, working with Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield, were important for regional development. He was no gadfly, and his colleagues knew it.

JACKSON was a man for the Northwest and for the Nation, and it is difficult to see how Washington State can produce a replacement anywhere near his ability and perception. We can only express gratitude for having had a Jackson in Washington, D.C., and wish them luck in selecting a replacement.



[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post Intelligencer, Sept. 12, 1983]

JACKSON STOOD FOR SPECIAL BREED

WASHINGTON.—As the bells tolled a sad farewell last week for Senator HENRY JACKSON, they also seemed to toll the departure of a very special breed of American whose perspective reached far beyond the myopic limits of Vietnam and Watergate.

That breed, its numbers now reduced almost to zero in Congress, understood what it was to fight and win a massive war, to rehabilitate battle-ravished nations, to establish an enlightened system of cooperation among allies and to utilize the powers of the Federal Government to help the downtrodden.

The members of that breed were not narrow ideologues. They were men and women who, while loyal to the political party of their choice, had the vision and the courage to cross party lines in quest of a strong, compassionate America that was determined to escape the bondage of a society dominated by inequity and isolationism.

BUSINESS AND LABOR LEADERS

Through a trying time, they—mainstream Democrats and Republicans—helped construct a foreign and domestic policy structure that remains remarkably strong—despite attempts to shatter its underpinnings.

Over four decades, their number has included Presidents, Members of Congress and the Cabinet, leaders of business, labor, industry, academia, and religion. But often over that period of time their primary bastion has been the U.S. Senate.

There remain in the Senate men and women of talent and wisdom. But those whose service in public life or whose personal standards of reference reach back across the years to World War II, the Marshall plan, the establishment of NATO, the McCarthy era, and the Korean conflict have, with very few exceptions, died or retired from public life.

Among the Members of the proud breed, which JACKSON had come to symbolize, there were policy differences and sometimes conflicts of ambition. But on the major issues that have shaped the United States and the Western World during the past 40 years they generally stood as one.

Two of that breed—Edmund Muskie, an unsuccessful Presidential aspirant who became Jimmy Carter's Secretary of State, and John Sherman Cooper, a Republican Senator who served as Dwight Eisenhower's Ambassador to India—were among 1,700 friends of JACKSON who gathered to memorialize the Senator.

Among its members were Republicans like Arthur Vandenberg, George Aiken, Warren Austin, Margaret Chase Smith, Clifford Case, Leverett Saltonstall, Thomas Kuchel, and Everett Dirksen.

On the Democratic side of the aisle, its numbers included John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Tom Connolly, Hubert Humphrey, Alben Barkley, Paul Douglas, Walter George, Richard Russell, Stuart Symington, William Fulbright, Estes Kefauver, Albert Gore, and John Sparkman.

To young Americans of today, those may sound like obscure names out of the past. But it is because of that special breed that young Americans live in a nation that stands as the great bulwark of freedom in the world.

Long ago, Walt Whitman wrote: "There is no week nor day nor hour, when tyranny may not enter upon this country, if the people lose their roughness and spirit of definace—tyranny may always enter—there is no charm, no bar against it—the only bar against it is a large resolute breed of men."

The special breed which JACKSON symbolized may not have exhibited the roughness of which Whitman wrote, for they lived in an era far removed from the frontier of Whitman's day. But its Members were defiant and resolute in their determination to move America and the world toward a brighter future.



[From the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune, Sept. 4, 1983]

HENRY M. JACKSON

Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, who died Thursday of a heart attack at the age of 71, possessed a strong anti-Soviet suspicion that commanded respect because he was consistent and thoughtful.

His conservative approach to foreign affairs was tempered by a liberal social conscience, and enhanced by a keen sense of foresight.

He spoke with pride of flying over the Soviet construction of a highway between the Russian border and Kabul, Afghanistan in 1954, telling a colleague the highway would be the route for a Soviet invasion of that country someday.

He uncovered details of the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty that embarrassed the Nixon administration. Over the years, his thorough critiques bolstered the suspicions that prevented Senate approval of the SALT II Treaty during President Carter's administration.

He was an unsuccessful Democratic Presidential candidate in 1972 and 1976, but his policy stands were more consistent with his principles, not his partisanship.

To the dismay of anti-Vietnam war activists who were Democrats, JACKSON supported President Nixon's controversial bombing of North Vietnam in 1972. JACKSON had the courage to correct himself in 1974, and led the opposition to the Nixon administration's request for continuing aid to what JACKSON called the repressive American-backed Thieu regime.

With the power and respect he commanded in Congress JACKSON was a thorn in the side of Jimmy Carter, chiding the Democratic President for his overtures to Cuba, and for foreign policy that was not "aggressive" enough.

While JACKSON was too hawkish for the former President, the current President was too hawkish for JACKSON.

Though a supporter of the defense buildup (he was known affectionately by colleagues as the "Senator from Boeing") JACKSON was part of the Senate's one-vote majority that killed funding for nerve gas weaponry requested by the Reagan administration this year.

Though staunchly anti-Communist, his Central America approach showed an understanding of social factors that was probably based in his early background.

He denounced Reagan's reliance upon a "military shield" against the spread of Latin American communism because that approach ignores the burning economic inequities of the oligarchies in the region.

JACKSON recently denounced Reagan's alarmist assertions of a Soviet nuclear superiority, despite his own tough stand on defense.

JACKSON expressed little surprise over the "barbaric" attack by the Russians upon Korean Air Lines flight 007 at a news conference hours before his fatal heart attack. As has been the case before, his tough skepticism about Soviet intentions may gain wider acceptance after such incidents as the air murder.

HENRY JACKSON was a nonpartisan sage and statesman who could cry "wolf!" and be believed, because he was uncommonly principled, and often right.



[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 6, 1983]

"SCOOP" JACKSON

Senator HENRY (SCOOP) JACKSON, the powerful Washington Democrat, was a distinguished political figure of felicitous contradictions. He was known for his liberal views on domestic social issues and for a tough, hawkish stance on national defense.

JACKSON was elected to the Senate in 1952, the year of the Eisenhower landslide and quickly caught the national spotlight when he and two fellow Senators resigned from that body's Permanent Investigation Subcommittee in protest against its red-baiting chairman, Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin.

He was strong both for nuclear energy and conservation—many consider him the father of the Environmental Protection Agency. He took a tough, non-nonsense line toward expansionist efforts by the Soviet Union, and was also a lifelong liberal in matters dealing with civil rights and labor.

It was characteristic of JACKSON that just before his fatal heart attack, he had called a press conference to denounce the Soviet Union's attack against a Korean airliner as "a dastardly, barbaric act against humanity." He served his community and Nation with notable distinction. His death is a great loss.

[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News Tribune, Sept. 11, 1983]

JACKSON'S SILENT TREATMENT LASTED 6 YEARS

(By Emily Walker)

The sudden and unexpected death of U.S. Senator HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON shocked not only his family, friends, and constituents but the Nation as well. Friends and political foes alike were quick to express their admiration for his honesty, straightforwardness, and political know-how.

It's too bad that a man has to die before such a widespread surge of admiration and respect comes to the surface. However, the Senator would have probably agreed that it may have been better for him to have gone now than to perhaps been thrown out of office after a distinguished career because in the eyes of his constituents he had become too old or too ill to serve.

Way back when then-Congressman JACKSON was campaigning (successfully as it turned out) to unseat Senator Harry P. Cain, for whom I was working, Cain had me attend a meeting in Tacoma which JACKSON was to address.

Purposefully I sat in the front row immediately below the dais. I didn't want to appear as though I were trying to hide.

Following JACKSON's speech I had to hurry back to Cain's office to report what I had heard. However, Harry Smith, who was an aide to the late Congressman Thor Tollefson and was in town to work on Tollefson's campaign, lingered once JACKSON's speech was finished.

Smith appeared in Cain's office a few hours later to tell me that following the speech he overheard a man tell JACKSON "that wretched Emily Walker from Cain's office" had been there to monitor what JACKSON had to say. JACKSON's reply was "I knew she was here and let me tell you something, she's doing a good job in Washington, D.C., and all of us like and respect her and are happy to have her there."

You can imagine what that did for my ego despite what may have been political overtones.

I was working for Tollefson after Cain was defeated when JACKSON's marriage was announced in the Washington Post. I suggested to Tollefson that he immediately call JACKSON and congratulate him. For some reason Tollefson didn't want to, but I kept after him until he did.

I happened to hear him tell the Senator, "Emily insists that I call you and offer my congratulations," thereby revealing his hesitancy in doing so.

As we all know JACKSON was extremely careful to take good care of his health, I remember one evening I was sipping coffee at some "do" at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. when JACKSON walked by. He tapped me on my shoulder and warned me, "That stuff'll kill you."

It was nearly 6 years before JACKSON forgave me (but I sure never forgot) for a dirty trick I played on him. I had gone to Tollefson's office one Saturday morning to catch up on some work when I received a call from the late Ernie Knight, then editor of The News Tribune. Knight was checking on a rumor that a project involving new facilities at Mount Rainier had been approved.

I knew that JACKSON had been working on this for months. However, I felt that this was a chance to help Tollefson, which I was being paid to do. I knew that the Rockefeller Foundation was involved, but when I called their office in

New York to get the details I was told that the Department of the Interior had all the documents.

I called the Department, which was closed for the weekend. A fellow who happened to be there told me that the document was there but he didn't think he was free to give out the information. I finally convinced him that if he'd send it up to Tollefson's office by messenger I'd have it mimeographed and sent back to him within the hour.

It worked.

As a result, the Sunday edition of *The News Tribune* front page carried a story giving Tollefson credit for announcing that the project had been approved. Although the story did not specifically give Tollefson credit for the project, it didn't mention JACKSON at all. Thus it was implied that Tollefson who had little or nothing to do with the project got the credit.

Tollefson had no more than come to the office Monday morning than he had to face a telephone call from an angry and hurt JACKSON. Tollefson, who had nothing to do with the story, put the blame on me (which was mine and which I was also paid to take), explaining that often I was beyond his control. He also explained that I had done it without consulting him—which was true.

For years after that JACKSON wouldn't have anything to do with me. I couldn't blame him. Finally, the Senator and I ran into each other in the middle of the street between the House Office Building and the Capitol.

"Look, Senator," I said, "If I had done something like that and had I been on your staff, you'd have thought I'd done you a service."

I hand it to him that he smilingly, although grudgingly, agreed and we were back at last on friendly terms. Actually, I wouldn't have blamed him if he had drummed me out of the congressional working staff forever.

Right or wrong, I felt one's loyalty (and trickery if necessary) is due the person who has hired you. Perhaps I went too far and probably did, but after the confrontation all was well between us. I doubt that I would have been that magnanimous had the shoe been on the other foot.

While writing this column, I looked over the many Christmas cards picturing him and his family which I have always valued and will now keep. Like memories of JACKSON, they'll always be treasured.



[From the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sept. 12, 1983]

REAGAN EMULATES SCOOP'S BEST TRAITS

(By David Broder)

The Members of Congress are returning to a Capital strikingly different in atmosphere from the one they left at the start of their recess in early August. Death is in the air, and its sobering effects can be felt everywhere.

The summer ended with triphammer blows: the systematic shelling and killing of the marines on "peacekeeping duty" in Lebanon; the murderous Soviet destruction of the Korean airliner, killing 269 persons, including Representative Larry McDonald of Georgia; and the sudden, unexpected death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington.

As is always the case, such tragedy has shamed the pettiness out of Washington politics. The atmosphere of soured partisanship Congress left behind when it took its August break has been transformed into a sense of shared concern and sobered realism.

President Reagan has been at his finest through this ordeal. Whether comforting the families of the slain marines, expressing the Nation's regrets at SCOOP JACKSON's death, or voicing the outrage everyone felt at the coldblooded attack on the Korean airliner and its innocent passengers, his words, tone, and demeanor have been exactly right.

What gave special poignancy to Reagan's impressive performance was that it so perfectly embodied the principles and even the personal style of SCOOP JACKSON, the man he mourned as "a true patriot."

JACKSON was the least theatrical of public men. His friend and colleague, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, once described JACKSON as having "the charisma of competence."

Probably it took a long time for one to appreciate SCOOP JACKSON's qualities. I came to value them in 1960, when I saw him set aside his personal disappointment over the Kennedys' last-minute decision to pull back the implied offer of the Vice Presidential nomination, when they decided Lyndon Johnson would be a stronger political asset. Far from sulking, JACKSON accepted the lesser post of Democratic national chairman and worked his head off in the campaign.

That same year, he issued a report on national security organization, convincingly demonstrating the risks of letting a White House operator, the national security adviser, usurp the role and functions of the Secretary of State.

He was right about that, just as history proved him right on other issues. Infallible he was not, but on most of the large questions to which he turned his ever-active intelligence, his judgment was awfully good. Most of all, he was realistic. He allowed himself few illusions, which made him especially valuable in a week like last week, when so many others found themselves disillusioned to the point of distraction.

"He lived in the worst of times," his friend Pat Moynihan said at last week's memorial service, "the age of the totalitarian state * * *. He wanted his country strong because he knew the terrible danger of the age in which we live. Where others lurch from one issue to another with the attention span of a 5-year-old, he sustained this understanding and this vision through five of the most awful decades in the history of mankind."

Reagan was displaying those "Jacksonian" qualities last week—steadiness, strength and clarity—at a time when we needed them most.



[From the Vancouver (Wash.) *Columbian*, Sept. 2, 1983]

JACKSON TRAITS: CLASSY, POWERFUL, WITTY, SMART

(By Jewett, Van Arsdol, and Beck)

Today's column offers anecdotes, vignettes, and personal recollections about Washington Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON, provided by regular INK columnists and others in The *Columbian* newsroom.

It's always a shock when someone close to us dies, but particularly when that person is as healthy as HENRY JACKSON.

Columbian City Editor Gregg Herrington noted that JACKSON always watched his cholesterol intake. For breakfast, he usually shunned eggs, but nonetheless, often ordered a small steak and a glass of juice.

Just last year, JACKSON's wife, Helen, mentioned to us that her husband was healthy and vigorous.

"He gets to bed early, keeps to his diet, doesn't smoke and swims every day in the Senate gym when he's in Washington," she said. "He comes from a hardy stock."

One of the things we remember most about JACKSON is that he knew how to laugh.

Some politicians will make an effort to laugh at something they think they recognize as a joke, but you can tell their hearts aren't really in it—you can see in their eyes that they aren't really sure if the punchline has been reached, and they wait nervously for a clue from those around them that it's time to laugh.

SCOOP JACKSON knew how to laugh, especially at himself. The last time we talked with him for a couple of minutes, he told a little story about walking into the wrong room for a meeting, finding some unknown group in session, and not knowing how to walk back out gracefully with everyone watching him and wondering what was going on.

"I just gave them a little wave and turned around," he said.

The Senator was closely identified with nuclear energy development, and although he became identified considerably with the weapons aspect of atomic energy, he also maintained a big interest in its peaceful uses.

He was a frequent visitor to the Hanford atomic plant in central Washington, and was one of the most knowledgeable individuals in the country on the problems and issues of that complex.

During the 1950's, JACKSON's office was besieged with complaints from Richland residents when the Federal Government decided to sell the town, particularly after the sales prices of the federally owned houses had been announced. In one of the most turbulent periods of the Richland transition to private ownership, JACKSON told one of the present INK writers:

"Sometimes I feel like I'm mayor of that town."

SCOOP always took things in stride, even if he was upstaged.

Columbian writer John Harrison recalled the day SCOOP walked into the newsroom at the same time a former Mr. Universe was flexing his muscles in the photo studio. The photo studio curtains had been drawn, but there was enough of a gap to give a tantalizing view. Columbian employees were naturally intrigued and a sizable number went to peek between the curtains. In the midst of the excitement, no one saw SCOOP, who was standing at a reception desk waiting for someone to notice him.

JACKSON had a knack for making people feel at ease with him.

Columbian writer Jim Stasiowski remembered meeting JACKSON last June at the dedication of the second powerhouse at Bonneville Dam.

"By chance, I ran into JACKSON in one of the powerhouse's huge passageways. He was running a hand through his hair, talking to a couple of his advisers. He wasn't smiling.

"I decided, as a reporter, I had to butt in even though the talk seemed to be pretty heavy, I stuck my hand out and introduced myself. JACKSON looked a little startled, but returned the handshake and listened carefully to my name. He and his aides were getting into an elevator. JACKSON invited me to ride along, and I did. He asked where I was from and how I liked the Northwest. Then he opened his briefcase, pulled out a copy of his speech and gave it to me. That's usually the kind of mundane activity press aides handle.

"Before the ceremony and after it, crowds came to JACKSON's side asking for autographs. He was the one celebrity among all the others most people wanted to talk to.

"I had to interrupt again, to clarify something he'd said in his speech. He was gracious and answered my questions. I thanked him, and he said, 'See you later, Jim,' as he hurried away to his car."

Columbian editor Tom Koenninger said he was often amazed at the Senator's encyclopedic knowledge" of foreign issues.

When JACKSON would meet here with Columbian editors, he invariably covered the spectrum of current foreign policy matters, occasionally stopping to chide gently the editors if they showed the slightest indication of not being up to the same level of knowledge on those issues.

As one of the most powerful Members of Congress, JACKSON impressed many Clark County residents.

Before he was assistant city editor, The Columbian's David Kern spent nearly 6 years trailing politicians, and Kern remembers that few had as classy a style as JACKSON.

"I remember the fall of 1980 when JACKSON was stumping for Ron Dotzauer, the former Clark County auditor was narrowly defeated for Washington secretary of state that year," Kern said.

"On the front lawn of the beautiful home owned by Larry Cassidy, which overlooks Vancouver Lake, JACKSON gazed out and noted that the Washington delegation had worked hard to get millions of Federal dollars to help clean up the lake. He wasn't boasting, simply detailing how the delegation did not forget things important to folks at home.

"JACKSON also noted that he had pushed through a proviso that Columbia River water not even be studied for possible diversion to the Southwest until 1988.

"To get the proviso through, JACKSON told the crowd, 'I told Bobby Byrd' (then Senate majority leader from West Virginia), 'Now don't talk loud. Mumble a lot.'

"JACKSON gave a short speech that night from the elevated dining area, a couple of stairs higher than the adjoining room. JACKSON, not a tall man, always tried to position himself above the crowd."

[From the Vancouver (Wash.) Columbian, Sept. 5, 1983]

SENATOR JACKSON TOTALLY DEDICATED LIFE TO JOB

(By Jewett, Van Arsdol, and Beck)

We got several responses from our request for recollections about the late Senator HENRY JACKSON on Friday, so here are a few more:

Columbian city editor Gregg Herrington covered JACKSON while he worked for the Associated Press in Washington, D.C., for 5 years, and traveled with him on some of his 1972 campaign trips.

JACKSON was a physical fitness buff who liked to swim in the Senate Office Building pool, which was reserved exclusively for Senators. JACKSON said the Senators often swam in the nude although that was always subject to change depending on whether women were elected to the Senate.

In general, Herrington said, JACKSON presented a bit of an "old-shoe" image.

"He lived and breathed his work, not marrying and starting a family until relatively late in life. A Washington, D.C., friend said his bachelor apartment was always strewn with newspapers. JACKSON worked until late at night, then came home and read papers and went to bed for a few hours before going back to work again.

"His staffers said he simply had had no interest in anything except his job. Sterling Munro, SCOOP's former administrative assistant, said JACKSON couldn't even go fishing without taking his work with him. He said JACKSON would call in by ship-to-shore radio to see what was going on.

"But he had his unpleasant side, too. Critics said he was so entrenched in Washington—State and district—that he developed a bit of a holier-than-thou attitude regarding many public issues. He showed little patience for people who challenged his views during news conferences or public forums. He also was fond of saying that he had earlier predicted some course of world politics that had eventually occurred."

Columbian reporter Bob Sisson was an intern at The Columbian in 1974 when he met JACKSON at Al Hunziker's Douglas Service Station, 6510 Mill Plain Blvd.

That was during the worst of the gasoline shortage. JACKSON told a small group of gas dealers who gathered at the station that they might get more fuel to sell within a few days.

A few days passed, and no gas arrived. By coincidence, Sisson's girlfriend, Mary (now his wife), was on a college study tour of Washington, D.C., and her group was scheduled to meet with JACKSON. So, Mary asked the Senator what had happened with his efforts to get more gas in Clark County.

Emergency gas allocations arrived here within a few days. The Sissons never did find out if they had anything to do with it.

Columbian photographer Dave Olson remembers that JACKSON came across as a personal friend, rather than as just another political candidate on a public relations tour.

When Olson photographed JACKSON during a tour of Alcoa, JACKSON made it a point to stand in the best light.

"He obviously knew something about photography, probably from many years of being photographed. If he saw me miss a shot, he would hold up until I could get it," Olson said.

"He asked my name and when he found out I was of Norwegian descent, he started talking to me in some broken 'Norsky,' mostly kind little idioms. And on one occasion, when he found out a man was just retiring from the plant, he said, 'Come on over here, Ole, and take a picture of me with this retiring gentleman.'"

"Ole," said Olson, "is a nickname that I haven't heard in years."

Few people realize it, but JACKSON was instrumental in helping many people up the ladder to positions of power.

In 1978, Seattle attorney John Salter, for years a JACKSON aide and confidant, noted the influence of SCOOP.

"JACKSON was mainly responsible for the election of four Democrats in 1964—(Lloyd) Meeds, (Tom) Foley, Floyd Hicks, and Brock Adams," said Salter, who was executive director of the National Democratic Committee in 1960, the year SCOOP chaired the panel. "He more or less selected them, drafted them, and used a great deal of his campaign money because he had very little opposition."

Of his staff members, JACKSON said: "I have always followed a rule, in my own self-interest, that I should get the very best I can. I try to pick people that are smarter than I am."

Columbian reporter Pat Moser met JACKSON in the spring of 1972, when it had become apparent that George McGovern was winning the Democratic nomination for President as an anti-Vietnam war candidate.

Hawkish HENRY JACKSON was ready to withdraw from the race, but he put off his announcement so he could keep a promise to meet with farmers and ranchers in Pendleton.

At a lunch and reception, JACKSON wore a cowboy hat. He slapped backs and swapped stories about the various regional issues they had faced together.

Moser had the impression that JACKSON was happier with a bunch of cowboys than he was explaining to antiwar demonstrators on the Presidential campaign trail his support for the Vietnam war effort.



[From the Oregonian, Sept. 13, 1983]

ROLE MODEL

(By Jonathan Nicholas)

HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON will be missed for lots of reasons. Not the least of them is the fact that he served as a role model of the kind of moral character a community has every right to expect in its public servants.

We live at a time when political figures (especially those who recently have been discredited and/or imprisoned) command outrageous sums on the lecture circuit. From 1952, when he was first elected to the U.S. Senate, JACKSON anonymously gave to charity every penny that he earned from his public speaking engagements.

In recent years, JACKSON gave away as much as \$50,000 annually to the Gertrude Jackson Memorial Fund, a trust he established in his sister's name to grant scholarships to children in the school district of his Everett home. Some skeptics might view this sort of generosity as public posturing. So sometimes we have to take note of the little things to give the truest indication of the character of a man.

When Ken Lewis, president of Lasco Shipping Co. of Portland, was flying from Japan to China last month, he shared a flight with JACKSON, who was en route to Peking for a meeting with Deng Xiaoping. No sooner had the plane taken off from the Tokyo airport than a stewardess approached JACKSON inviting him to go forward into the plane's first-class cabin. Politely, the Senator declined.

A few minutes later, the chief steward stopped by, urging JACKSON to permit the cabin staff to upgrade his seating. Again JACKSON declined. Finally, the copilot himself came back. The staff really would be honored, he explained, to be able to serve the Senator in the first-class cabin. JACKSON turned to one of his aides. "Would you mind doing me a favor?" he asked. "Go sit in the first-class section so I can stay here and chat."



[From the Daily News, Sept. 11, 1983]

JACKSON'S DEATH A SETBACK FOR ALASKA, NATION

(By Guy Martin)

WASHINGTON.—Somehow, I guess I expected SCOOP JACKSON to live forever. He gave us the kind of bedrock leadership and graceful exercise of power that created confidence that he was here to stay—a fixed part of American life and politics.

For me and many others, his death was the uncommon event, the one that grabs at your guts and tells you unmistakably that, this time, things are really going to change. Clearly, those who eulogized him, and they were many, diverse and eloquent, were not prepared for his loss. People across an unbelievable spectrum of political beliefs and roles in American life created an outpouring of respect and affection for the Senator which was as unrestrained and genuine as I can recall.

The warmth felt by so many toward Senator JACKSON transcended a diverse, and to some a politically contradictory, set of political accomplishments and beliefs. As was often acknowledged, it was the personal qualities of the man and his ability to be a forceful advocate without making enemies which allowed both conservatives and liberals to remember him as a great man.

Historians will search diligently through Senator JACKSON's career for unifying themes, attempting to reconcile his unswerving support of the military, new weapons systems, and a hard line towards communism with his strong support of social welfare programs and the traditional domestic programs of liberal Democratic politics. They will struggle to rationalize his energy policy leadership, his support of nuclear energy and a highly subsidized Federal synthetic fuels development program with his acknowledged record of accomplishment in the environmental and resource management areas where he was

either the author or the major factor in the passage of dozens of landmark laws, such as the National Environmental Policy Act.

For those struggling for the central theme in all this, let me suggest that Senator JACKSON was, first and foremost, convinced of the power and creativity of the Federal Government to solve serious problems, whether through a firm foreign policy backed by a strong military capability, special programs to help the poor and disadvantaged, support of the American labor movement, or strong Federal laws to protect the environment or promote the development of energy resources.

Senator JACKSON's record with respect to Alaska bears the same hallmarks as his national career. Four Federal actions have shaped the modern history of Alaska, and on each, Senator JACKSON played a key role. He was an acknowledged leader and supporter in the statehood movement, ultimately joining with an earlier generation of Alaska leaders to win the victory in 1958. Beginning in the mid-1960's, when the aboriginal land claims of Alaska Natives were too controversial within the State for the Alaska delegation to take strong advocacy positions in Congress, it was Senator JACKSON to whom Alaska Natives turned for leadership on the issue. He responded, and ultimately made the difference in the passage of a federally dictated settlement in 1971. Although time has exposed some defects in the act, it stands unquestioned as an act of justice toward Alaska Natives, and clearly laid the foundations for the two remaining Federal actions which sculpted modern Alaska—The Trans-Alaska Pipeline Act and the Alaska Lands Act.

The development of Prudhoe Bay, made possible by the construction of TAPS, stands as the most important economic event in modern Alaska history, yet it proceeded on the schedule it did over the objections of HENRY JACKSON. His dissent was grounded in the belief that the National Environmental Policy Act, of which he was correctly called the father, should not be waived even for a project as important as TAPS. With Alaska Senators on one side and JACKSON on the other an historic Senate floor debate took place in 1975, decided finally by a tie vote broken by Vice President Spiro Agnew in favor of the NEPA waiver. The resolution of this single issue is felt by many to be the determining event in the early completion of TAPS and its contribution to the national energy supply.

Depending on one's perspective, it can be debated whether the contribution of TAPS is greater than the damage to NEPA, but there is little doubt that JACKSON's position was consistent with his overall view of Federal supremacy and sound environmental laws to control such decisions, rather than the political exigencies of the time.

Although less visible, JACKSON's role in the final chapter of Federal land allocations in Alaska, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, also was profound. Cast in extreme terms in Alaska as an "us versus them" fight against national environmentalists, JACKSON would have none of it. Rather, he was the skillful advocate for passage of a bill, and the shaper of compromises, which protected vast portions of Federal land in Alaska for future generations. While it must have been confusing for some Alaskans to see the "Senator from Boeing" apparently moving against Alaska commercial interests, his role was no surprise to those who understood his dedication to environmental

values, or knew, as he did, that the best path to Alaska's future would be to end the political bloodshed over the d-2 issue.

Considering it all, how you mark your Alaska scorecard on SCOOP JACKSON allows for some perspective, but not much. His contributions and dedication to the State were immense, and he was often a leader on Alaska issues when our own delegation was not enough. Search as you will for his successor as "Alaska's Third Senator," and you will learn all you need to know.



[From the Journal American, Sept. 11, 1983]

JACKSON PROVED RIGHT IN DISTRUST OF SOVIET UNION

(By John McClelland)

Yes, remember him—remember JACKSON, a towering leader on the American scene—but also remember what he kept saying—what he admonished us about. With that resolve I dug out my JACKSON file after the funeral and began to read.

A recurring theme runs through his writings—deep distrust of the Soviet Union. A warning was repeated over and over—America must not be deceived, not be misled, must not misjudge. Russia doesn't change. Its devotion to Communist revolution does not diminish. Its militarism menaces our ability even to survive.

Here is the start of a letter, dating as far back as 1969:

"As you know, I have long believed that in trying to make wise decisions on national security issues, it is important to understand the nature of the adversary. I have been pointing out that the Soviet Union is an opportunistic, unpredictable opponent with rapidly expanding military capabilities, and that, far from moving away from Stalinism, there are increased signs within Russia of a move to the right—toward a domestic hard line."

At the funeral in Everett, Warren Magnuson, JACKSON's colleague in Congress for four decades, said his departed close friend was a prophet. And now that he mentions it, JACKSON was a prophet, especially about Russia.

For now this Nation, like the rest of the world, is shaken as it has seldom been before by a new act of barbarism on the part of Russia. Recall other Russian international offenses in the last dozen years—tanks into Czechoslovakia to suppress attempts by the Czechs to enlarge their freedoms; armies into Afghanistan to destroy that ancient country's independence and bring it into the Soviet camp; the Soviet army mobilized on the borders of Poland while Soviet emissaries converged on Warsaw to dictate the terms of suppression for the Solidarity movement.

All three instances provoked worldwide indignation, angry protests, inflammatory rhetoric in the United Nations, and a few economic reprisals. But our "adversary," as JACKSON described it, was not disturbed. No nation can step in and interfere with what Moscow undertakes to do. Furthermore, it reasons, people have short memories. Their passions die down. The smoke clears away. Anger is replaced by normal optimism that somehow, some way, Russia won't go on like this. Vast quantities of soothing words pour out from Moscow to encourage that belief.

Then, unexpectedly, it happens again. This time a Korean airliner carrying 269 passengers is shot down by a Soviet fighter plane, acting on orders from its base. This is shocking. Almost unbelievable. So everyone turns toward Moscow for an explanation. An error must have been made—a tragic error. Surely in a few hours the Russian Government will explain, express remorse and even offer to do something for the relatives of the victims.

That did not happen. And Senator JACKSON died that day, shortly after his last chance to say again what he knew to be the truth about the Soviet rulers. He proved to be prophetic—again—about the Soviet Union.

Even in the face of worldwide condemnation the Russian rulers, far from being disturbed that their military had deliberately killed a plane full of civilians, took a haughty and defiant stance. In essence they said that the plane had “intruded” into Soviet airspace. It deserved to be shot down.

This attitude can't be explained solely in terms of Russia's paranoid preoccupation with security and deep-seated distrust of all foreigners, although that feeling is a dominant characteristic of everything Russian. What it tells us—again—is that Russians are not like Americans, or Britons, or French, or any other people who are governed by those chosen by the people to govern. They don't share our beliefs about human freedoms. That is perfectly obvious. But neither do they share our concepts about the value of human lives.

Kremlin leaders must be frankly puzzled by the extent of the world reaction to their shooting down of one plane—just one plane. The military was doing its duty, wasn't it? Foreign planes must stay out of Russia's airspace and this was a good chance to make that plain. In the long run it will help Russian security.

Senator JACKSON applauded those who warned us of what is called the “mirror image” fallacy. We tend to look at Russian people and see them as people like ourselves. Then we attribute to them our values, our beliefs, our sense of justice, our compassion, our abhorrence of human suffering. And that's wrong. They aren't like that, much as our sense of charity makes us want to believe that they are. Jimmy Carter was one who believed Russia's smiling appeals for detente—to live and let live. He was as surprised and dismayed as any when Afghanistan was invaded.

SCOOP JACKSON, a dozen years ago, sent us a series of five articles about Russia, written by a Washington Post reporter who spent 2 years in Moscow before being thrown out. His theme was that the Soviet leaders who took over after Nikita Khrushchev was deposed were all cast in the Stalinist mold and were turning back the clock. He named seven Kremlin leaders who had made this decision and were working to implement it. One was Brezhnev. Another was Andropov, the man now in power who was then head of the most dreaded of weapons used to control the people—the KGB (security police). It is Andropov who has nothing remorseful to say about the slaughter of the innocents in the air off Sakhalin.

If SCOOP JACKSON could have lived even one more month he would have had time to repeat what he has been saying all through his public career, and this time all would have listened. For this time the Russian leaders have badly misjudged the West. Action against an entire country—Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Poland—could be gotten away with. Adverse consequences were not long

lasting. Those hostile actions had the appearance of political moves, bad but at least explainable in terms of Russian self-interest.

The shooting down of a civilian plane and then trying to lie their way out of it is something else. That kind of thing everyone can understand. No high level politics involved. It is an act of raw cruelty and arrogance not seen since Hitler and it lays the Russian character bare.

Why couldn't the Russian rulers have foreseen this reaction? Why couldn't they have realized that the consequences of an attempt to cover up would far outweigh on the adverse side the little good that can come from another warning for planes to stay clear of Russian coastlines?

Because the Russians are different. They think differently.

In our society the individual has first rights. The State exists to protect and implement those rights, including the right of each person to control his own destiny. The State belongs to the people. They control it. Human life is sacred. An individual must be respected and helped, when needed, by the people as a whole acting through their Government. That is all we know. It is our way.

In the Communist society all rights have been collected into a whole—the state. The individual is a part of that whole and so must conform to it. Unity is everything. What is good for the state is good for the whole. There can be no majorities and minorities. The majority is everyone. No dissent is needed so none can be tolerated. No criticism of leadership can serve any good purpose, so none is allowed. This model of society is so good that eventually it must encompass the whole world. Thus it is the duty of the Soviet to encourage and help revolutionary movements in any country that can cause them to become like Russia.

SCOOP JACKSON wrote this in a Reader's Digest article:

"We must maintain the strength and resolve to discourage and deter Soviet expansion. The only safe way to negotiate with the Russians is to keep our eyes open and to bargain from strong positions. It is on this basis that I favor negotiating with Moscow on the reciprocal limitation or reduction of offensive and defensive nuclear forces.

"Obviously our resources are limited—though not so limited as those of the adversary—and we must use them with discrimination and prudence, recognizing that we have urgent and vital tasks at home as well as abroad. The United States will not lag behind any nation in beating its swords into plowshares when the day comes that others will join us. Meanwhile, in these fateful and difficult times, Americans must be prepared to accept the responsibilities of a great power, lest international crises get out of hand and the chances of peace go glimmering.

"Winston Churchill said the right words to us: 'The price of greatness is responsibility.'"

This was written in 1969. The words of a prophet are worth rereading and remembering.

[From the Waitsburg (Wash.) Times, Sept. 8, 1983]

TOMFOOLERY

The State of Washington lost one of its outstanding citizens this past week in the sudden and unexpected death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

We did not see the TV interview made shortly before the fatal heart attack, but we understand he had been suffering from some sort of upper respiratory infection which he got on his recent trip to China.

We have to admit that our contacts with Senator JACKSON were not plentiful, since he lived on the west side of the State. We did meet him at a couple of press meetings, at a reception in Walla Walla and one time when he came to speak in Waitsburg as a favor to Lee Mantz, Sr., who was a good friend.

We know of many people who voted for "SCOOP" even though he was on the ticket of the opposite party. They did it, we have gathered, because they admired his qualifications and never felt that he was running against anyone who measured up.

As one friend said this past weekend, he must have been a strong person to survive the battles in Washington, D.C., for some 40-plus years.

His personal history made him a candidate of much appeal for many who had similar backgrounds. He was raised in the Everett area, and his widowed mother had to take in boarders to make ends meet during the days of his early childhood.

His nickname came because he was a paper carrier, and his record there reflected his dedication to duty. He delivered some 84,000 newspapers without a single complaint. We will never know whether that was an actual figure, or whether as a lad he was such an effective politician that he could smooth things over.

JACKSON was a man of records. He recently was congratulated by his colleagues in the Senate for his 11,000th vote in that body, an unusual record when considering how many of them are at other business when votes are recorded. He was as diligent at being a Senator as he was at being a paperboy.

Another point that endeared him to the general public was the fact that he worked his way through the University of Washington and Stanford Law School. He was not a person who was born to wealth or position, but he did the very best at whatever he attempted, and people of modest means can relate to that better than they can to a Teddy Kennedy, for example.

We remember a press conference at WWCC a few years back when JACKSON was asked to comment on the social welfare programs. He mentioned the fact that in the early days there were no Government help programs. He said his mother worked very hard to keep his family fed and clothed, and it was the custom in those days not to seek outside help.

He didn't look at his background as a reason for any bitterness, but could see the value in some of the subsistence programs which would take the edge off the suffering and misery which some people endure.

We were perhaps the most personally impressed with the fact that he did not take any money personally for his speaking engagements.

A lot of paper and ink have been spent telling of the various honorariums which are given to congressional speakers who command \$10,000 or \$15,000 for a single talk.

“SCOOP” had established a benevolent fund which received all of the funds which were generated by Senator JACKSON’s speaking engagements. He apparently did not want to feel that he was compromising his position as a Senator in any way, and in this day of megabucks, that is a refreshing position.

Senators, and Congressmen in general, deal with folks who command salaries in multiples of what they are making. Even though it may seem to the man on the street that the Congress is well paid, their salaries and perks do not represent the top of the economic heap in any manner.

A person would have to have some very special character ingredients to be able to withstand those pressures.

“SCOOP” JACKSON was apparently one who could do it.

At one or two of the conferences we attended at which the Senator was present, when we were introduced as being from Waitsburg, the Senator would always ask about Lee Mantz, Sr. How he was doing, and if everything was going well.

One of the sidebar stories in the AP described the friendliness of Senator JACKSON—how he never forgot the home folks. His concern about Lee Mantz was certainly an indication of that. He and Lee, Sr., apparently got acquainted early on through Democratic politics in Walla Walla County. Lee was a strong supporter of JACKSON, and he never forgot.

One of the things that both Senator Warren Magnuson and Senator JACKSON did was to make sure that Federal money found its way into the State of Washington. They were responsible for a goodly chunk of the State’s Federal impact funds, and thus were able to help the folks “back home” in many ways.

The State will not have the position of strength in the Senate as it once had when it was represented with long term officeholders who were in high-level committee responsibilities.

One of the matters which must have been very troubling to the Senator was the condition of the WPPS project. It did, of course, bring money into the State, but we are sure it was not his wish to have it take the wrong financial turn which it did.

We can remember one of the times when Senator JACKSON spoke in Waitsburg at the Legion Club banquet rooms.

Someone asked about our relationships with the Russians, and he spent the better part of half an hour relating some horror stories about our relationships with the Soviets. He was an acknowledged “hawk” in defense terms, but he felt he had enough background on the Russians to understand that the United States does not ever want to be at their mercy.

The recent incident of the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines jet must have been deeply troubling to the Senator.

His trip to China, although useful diplomatically, also takes its toll physically and mentally.

It may sound as if traveling is loads of fun—it is. But it is also lots of work. And we never envy anyone who has to jet across the world and live for weeks out of a suitcase.

In doing his job, Senator JACKSON gave what Abraham Lincoln would have called his “last full measure of devotion * * *.”

We were richer because of Senator JACKSON, and the State and Nation will be poorer at his loss.



[From the Walla Walla (Wash.) Union Bulletin, Sept. 2, 1983]

STATE LOSES A DEAR FRIEND

The honest and sincere people of the world lost a leader and a friend Thursday night upon the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. JACKSON was one of those rare individuals who rose to a position of power without forgetting his roots, without forgetting the people who helped him attain that power.

No greater compliment can be paid to JACKSON than the fact that he was equally respected by conservatives and liberals, not only throughout eastern and western Washington, but throughout the Nation. He stood up for what he believed in—a strong national defense, civil rights, the rights of common laborers and conservation—but was not so inflexible that he was not able to compromise to reach a reasonable solution to a problem.

That JACKSON was a very special individual became readily apparent at an early age when the Everett Herald gave him a commendation for delivering 84,000 papers without a single customer complaint. Anyone who has ever received a late newspaper or a wet newspaper can appreciate that achievement, almost unheard of in the newspaper industry.

After distinguishing himself at the University of Washington, where he earned a law degree in 1935, JACKSON built a reputation as a racket-buster as Snohomish County prosecuting attorney that carried him to a seat in the U.S. House in 1940.

Ever since the question has been not if JACKSON would win reelection, but by how much. It can truthfully be said that if JACKSON was proud of the fact that he never ran a race he did not win, the State of Washington was even prouder. For State residents were well aware of that fact that for every rise in prominence JACKSON personally achieved, that rise meant an equal rise in prominence for the State of Washington. JACKSON will forever be remembered as the State's first serious candidate for both the Vice Presidency in 1960 and the Presidency in 1972 and 1976.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said "the greatest success is confidence or perfect understanding between sincere people." Utilizing that definition of success, Senator HENRY JACKSON was one of the greatest success stories in State and National history.



[From the West Seattle (Wash.) Herald, Sept. 7, 1983]

SCOOP NEVER LOST CREDIBILITY BATTLE

SCOOP JACKSON's death last week came on a Thursday night, sandwiched between the final episode of the Godfather and the late news, in which JACKSON's death overshadowed updates on the shooting down of a South Korean airliner by a Soviet pilot. It was an ironic time to die.

It was ironic because JACKSON's political career rivaled the Godfather's for longevity and drama. He took two runs at the Presidency, served more than 30 years, and spoke out often and assertively about the risk of Soviet aggression. Sid Morrison, a relative newcomer to Washington's congressional delegation—he represents the State's Fourth District—praised JACKSON for his help in making Morrison welcome in the Nation's Capital. It was the sort of godfatherly backup that a newcomer needs to adjust to the demands of office.

JACKSON was also a godfather of sorts to thousands of constituents, from senior citizens who needed his help in getting benefits to kids who sought appointment to Military Academies. In paying those dues to the people who elected him, JACKSON had no peers. He was an advocate with a capital A, a man who delivered for this State and its people.

The tragedy of the South Korean airliner only doubled the irony. He commented on the issue earlier that day, showing his determination to keep the Soviets in line, his hardline rhetoric on military readiness. His remarks were in keeping with his reputation; less visible was his scholarly knowledge about Soviet history and tactics. Without consulting a note, JACKSON could—and would—reel off names, dates, and places in which Russian history proved his point. He was no knee jerk patriot, no friend to the paranoid political view that a Red lurked behind every protest sign.

Still, there were times he had little patience with what he must have viewed as softheaded thinking about political realities. JACKSON was a realist, not only because of his long tenure in the cloakrooms of Washington, D.C., but because as a student of Soviet tactics he saw every move of the Politburo as a calculated one, in a career that began a year before Stalin's death and the emergence of Nikita Khrushchev. Though the invasion of Hungary in 1956 was a powerful example of Russia's blueprint for world dominance, SCOOP had already established himself as an adversary of hysterical red-baiters in his nationally televised debates with Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1954.

Specializing in defense, JACKSON did not become enmeshed by the technology that hypnotized others, but used that expertise to lobby against strategic arms limitation treaties. On the domestic front he was a champion of hydroelectric resources in the State as well as an early advocate of nuclear power. But he was no patsy for the energy industry. In his role as a spokesman for environmental protection, he led the fight for the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act, and was a strong advocate of land use planning and parks and wilderness legislation.

The nickname was given to him by a sister when he was a carrier boy for the Everett Herald, delivering nearly 75,000 copies of the paper without a single complaint. It was an early sign of the kind of career he was to have. Steadfast, service-oriented, grounded in his instinct for hard work and attention to detail.

Never linked with the scandal that ruined the careers of others during his long tenure, SCOOP is most likely to be remembered for his exemplary character, a quality difficult to sustain in the heady atmosphere of Washington, D.C. It gave him credibility when others lacked it, and set a standard for anyone who aspires to high office.

[From the Gig Harbor (Wash.) Peninsula Gateway, Sept. 7, 1983]

SENATOR JACKSON: HE WILL BE MISSED

Just about everything that can be said about the importance of the late Senator HENRY JACKSON to the State of Washington has been said or written during the week since his death.

There is no doubt his shoes will be hard to fill. His tenure in the Congress gave this State a powerful voice in democracy. And the fact JACKSON was considered qualified to be seriously considered as a candidate for the offices of Vice President and President shows his strength and leadership abilities were known throughout this Nation and the world.

We are pleased that Gov. John Spellman will wait until JACKSON's funeral before making what must be a complex and hard political decision in replacing JACKSON in the Senate.

With questions of seniority and even control of the entire Senate at stake, the political implications of Republican Spellman's decision to replace a Democrat could be immense.

The best move for the State would be for Spellman to select the best qualified person, regardless of party affiliation, who could immediately command respect and contribute to Congress and this State.

A couple of names come to mind—U.S. Representative Tom Foley of Spokane and former Gov. Dan Evans.

Senator JACKSON will be remembered for years to come. We are a better Nation thanks in part to his efforts.



[From the Anchorage (Alaska) News, Sept. 4, 1983]

SENATOR HENRY JACKSON, FRIEND AND STATESMAN

Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON knew Alaska nearly as well as our State's own delegation in Congress, and as a friend of long standing. He also knew, as a U.S. Senator must, how to rise to the national interest and confront the issues that concern us all.

That's why he could perform the delicate feats of legislative statecraft needed to nudge the Alaska Statehood Act through Congress in 1958. That's why he could speak forcefully for the interests of Alaska Natives in drafting and implementing the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act—a measure that not only answered the claims of Native people in our State, but also cleared the path for construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline. That's why he could play an honest broker's role in the 7-year fight over the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act—able to communicate with all sides because he had earned all sides' respect.

SCOOP JACKSON was a cold war liberal—nowadays termed a "neoconservative"—who expressed the American postwar consensus for strong national defense and equally vital social services. He was a lifelong Democrat and, after 43 years of service, perhaps the last New Dealer in Congress. He split with much of his party and most other liberals over American involvement in Vietnam, and he long provided the focus in Congress for opposition to the Soviet

Union and the policy of detente. He championed the causes of labor, environmentalism, civil rights, Israel, anticommunism and American minorities. He earned the respect of all sides in Congress. Senate colleagues who often disagreed with him were among the first to eulogize his service in Congress and contributions to public life.

It was ironic, perhaps, that his death Thursday evening was overshadowed by the downing of a Korean airliner by Soviet fighters near Siberia. Senator JACKSON had spent most of his career denouncing conditions in the Soviet Union and effectively battling for what he thought would keep the United States and the West ahead in the conflict between the superpowers. His staff on the Senate Armed Services Committee became a think tank for high quality strategic analysis with a conservative, anti-Soviet bent.

The headlines on Thursday belonged to Georgia Representative Larry McDonald, the John Birch Society chairman who died when the Korean airliner went down. But Senator JACKSON did more every day to oppose Soviet abuse of power than Representative McDonald did in a career—because he was thoughtful and fair, informed and hardheaded, subtle and legislatively deft.

Alaskans benefited from those skills on a wide range of issues—and consistently found in Senator JACKSON a sympathetic ear, a voice of reason, a reserve of energy, and a politician of real savvy. They will miss him, as will a Nation that long relied on his statesmanship.



[From the Washington Daily News-Miner, Sept. 3, 1983]

ALASKA LOSES A FRIEND

When Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON looked at Alaska more than three decades ago, he saw a territory that he believed would one day make major contributions to the United States.

His foresight proved highly accurate. In those early days before statehood, he became an advocate for Alaska whose constancy never wavered.

Alaska lost a true friend when Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON died Thursday after a massive heart attack at his home in Everett, Wash.

JACKSON, 71, served 12 years in the U.S. House and 31 years in the U.S. Senate, becoming a powerful force in U.S. politics.

His stature was such that he twice sought the Democratic Presidential nominations—in 1972 and 1976—though neither try was successful. His advocacy of Alaskan interests gave us an edge that we badly needed and will sorely miss.

Senator JACKSON—along with Washington's senior Senator, Warren Magnuson—helped Alaskan delegate and eventually Senator E. L. "Bob" Bartlett on many occasions. When Bartlett died in 1968 and Gov. Walter Hickel named Ted Stevens to the Senate seat, Jackson befriended Stevens as well, and their friendship ripened over the years, despite their different party affiliations.

"Alaska will always be indebted to Scoop JACKSON," Stevens said Friday. "He was floor manager of the Alaska statehood bill in 1958 and successfully guided it through the Senate without amendment. Without his efforts, in all probability we would not have become a State at that time."

Stevens added: "SCOOP JACKSON should be remembered by Alaskans because he freely gave of his time and talents to assist Alaska—to become a member of the Union and to succeed as a new State."

Senator JACKSON was able to see the need to balance economic development with environmental protection and settlement of the land claims of Alaska's Natives.

He became a good friend to Alaskan Natives, sponsoring the Land Claims Settlement Act that passed in 1971 and maintaining an active interest in implementation of the act and resolution of continuing problems.

At the same time, he saw the need to develop Alaska's natural resources and led the drive for the Trans-Alaska Pipeline Authorization Act in 1973 that paved the way for construction of the Alyeska Pipeline Service Co., oil pipeline. He also spearheaded efforts to build a natural gas transmission system from the North Slope.

As chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he chaired more than 40 committee sessions called to draft acceptable Alaska lands legislation. After 4 years of work, a bill was passed in 1980.

He supported a strong military presence in Alaska, recognizing our State's strategic importance. Through his seat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, he fought to maintain military strength in Alaska.

With his death Thursday, the Nation has lost a powerful political leader whose perception and consistency will be hard to replace. And Alaska has lost a true friend.



[From the Camas-Washougal (Wash.) Record, Sept. 6, 1983]

"SCOOP" JACKSON NEARLY PRESIDENT

(By Hal Zimmerman)

U.S. Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, elected to six consecutive terms in the House of Representatives, and to six consecutive terms in the U.S. Senate, came to Camas and Clark County often. That will explain his success as a politician.

From my first meeting of "SCOOP" JACKSON when he spoke to the Sedro-Woolley Rotary Club at the Gateway Hotel in 1948 until my last meeting with him at Rock Creek Center, Stevenson, the day he and Senator Hatfield helped dedicate the second powerhouse at North Bonneville, June 1, he was always the gentleman, and he had changed little over the years.

It was not his intellect, brilliance or glibness that made HENRY JACKSON a man to remember or admire. It was his common, direct, friendly style. He was a likeable person. He was a conscientious legislator. His personal efforts assisted the resolution of citizenship problems faced by Mrs. David (Lucy) Rice, and others with immigration problems.

Although it was easy to disagree with some of his economic approaches in Government, and his solutions usually meant spending more taxpayer money, he had a firm feeling about his job: He believed sincerely in a strong defense for America and he had a real distrust of the Soviet Union. President Nixon

asked him to serve as his Secretary of Defense, a position JACKSON turned down.

Senator JACKSON came to Camas regularly, and reported to the chamber of commerce. His conscientious effort to respond to requests of citizens with problems earned him a reputation for being able to get things done in Washington, D.C.

His seniority and several committee assignments gave him "clout," and he used it with a gentleness and finesse that proved essential when in the 1980 election, resulting in Republican majority in the Senate, he lost his major chairmanships.

Because he was so highly respected, he did not get pushed aside, but was able to work well with the majority leaders. Senator Hatfield expressed this June 1.

Although his two campaigns for U.S. Presidential nominations on the Democratic ticket did not succeed, Senator JACKSON was still considered a powerful leader in his party. Ironically, many considered him the best possible running mate for John Kennedy in 1960, and if he had received that nod, he would have served as President.

The fact he was defeated for the 1972 nomination (taken by Senator George McGovern), and the 1976 nomination by Jimmy Carter, did not detract from his ability to serve the people of Washington.

He was the main speaker for the 1970 Centennial Paperama celebration of the Crown Zellerbach Corp. He and his wife Helen both came to Camas, and were the top special guests for the celebration. He and Denis Hayes both spoke that night. Denis was being honored by the Camas-Washougal Jaycees for environmental work. Senator JACKSON had sponsored the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act.

Senator JACKSON, whose early name "SCOOP" came from his dependability as a newspaper carrier, was a lawyer by education, a county prosecutor, and then a U.S. Representative before moving to the Senate.

He kept in physical condition by swimming and walking, and he did not smoke, and drank but little. He had a great deal of poise, self-esteem, and was comfortable with himself, but had a genuine humility.

Before labor groups and teachers he could speak with powerful convictions and stir his listeners but he was not considered an orator, and his speeches were generally marked for being informative, rather than inspirational.

There seems little doubt that the emotional stress, strain, and frustrations accompanying the Soviets' shooting down of the unarmed Korean airliner, and his own related feelings contributed to the Senator's heart attack and death.

The Norwegian legislator from Everett will rank among the finest legislators in the history of Washington State and the Nation.

[From the Stevenson (Wash.) Skamania County Pioneer, Sept. 9, 1983]

IN LOVING MEMORY OF HON. HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON

(By Pearl Neely, Skamania County coordinator for the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON, U.S. Senator—Washington, D.C., Democrat from Washington State)

He was more than a leader, this senior statesman of great stature; he was a genuine friend of the people whom he served for all the years of his political career in public offices. It is not enough to say that we will miss him. The feeling of great loss the Nation, State, counties, cities, and the Democratic Party whose banner he carried so high for the past 43 years, is truly matched by the humble feelings of those of us in whom Senator JACKSON entrusted coordination of his visits to our Washington State counties and his political campaigns at all levels of government. Those of us who had this special opportunity to know our fallen leader as a personal friend, have much to be grateful for; he touched our lives in a very extraordinarily special way.

We learned much from him. We are better persons for having known and worked with him. His faith, trust, and endorsement of my personal character and professional abilities to serve at the grassroots level of government is a legacy of which I am most proud to pass on to future generations of my family and friends. I sincerely appreciate this high honor and respect from such a top statesman who had a reputation of genuinely meaning what he said and did.

As Senator JACKSON is laid to rest today, Wednesday, Sept. 7, 1983, in his hometown of Everett, Wash., not far from the place of his birth, the torch he so capably carried for the people of our Nation is now being passed to his successors, his family, and his friends. Let us carry this lighted torch with great pride and deep respect as we move forward while reflecting often upon the legacy he left us.

God bless him and all he stood for as he rests in peace—this great man we all knew and loved as our friend SCOOP JACKSON.



JUST WAITE AWHILE

(By S. Waite)

I'd never been a pro- or anti-JACKSON fan. But 2 years ago, HENRY JACKSON endeared himself to our family. Let me tell you how it happened.

Our daughter accepted a position through the Department of Defense to teach in Germany. It was an exciting challenge and she looked forward to it with anticipation.

Laurie's possessions consisted of three shipments. One she initially took with her. Since she packed in 100-plus degree weather that August, this luggage was mostly summer clothing.

Then there was the "hold" baggage. She was advised to pack "one plate, one knife, one fork, one spoon," etc., to be delivered shortly after her arrival. The rest of her belongings were to reach her within 2 months.

Germany's weather turned chilly by mid-September and Laurie had to borrow heavier clothing. She moved into a German apartment the first of Oc-

tober without furniture, dishes, cooking utensils. Finally her "hold" baggage arrived. Then the wait began.

November passed—December. She continued to check at the transportation office, but the answer was always the same: "We're investigating." Christmas came and went. Laurie concluded she'd never see her things again. Gone, apparently, was her stereo, furnishings for three rooms, ski equipment, to say nothing of her Grandmother's 60-year-old cedar chest and other irreplaceable personal effects.

Finally one of the two crates arrived, stating on the outside "2,000 pounds" It contained her spare tires, bicycle, one chair and a stereo speaker. Had the crate been rifled through? Where was the second missing crate?

January—then February. Six months after Laurie's arrival in Germany, we decided to seek help on this end. I wrote to the Department of Defense and to our legislators in Washington, D.C.

A few days later, we received a call from Senator JACKSON's office. "What can we do to help?"

In less than a week, we got a telegram from Germany and another call from JACKSON's office. The missing crate was located in a Bremerhaven warehouse where it had been sitting for months. What's more—nothing was missing! (A story in itself!)

Needless to say, we became JACKSON fans from that time on. Senator HENRY JACKSON truly cared about the "little guy".



[From the Seattle (Wash.) South District Journal, Sept. 7, 1983]

DEATH OF "SCOOP" LEAVES LEADERSHIP VOID

He was more than merely a powerful man.

He was the warm voice we all grew to know and believe in. When he smiled, it was the good-natured, affable grin of ease which endeared him to so many generations of Washingtonians.

With SCOOP JACKSON's parting, we lose a man of unusual ambition, intelligence and grace.

When he died Thursday, he not only created a void of power in the Nation's Capital and at home, but he left us with a certain feeling of emptiness.

For JACKSON was no ordinary politician. It is fair, and perhaps necessary, to say he is one of a remarkable breed of men.

His record was never tainted with a national scandal. JACKSON kept on the straight and narrow, something his constituency in this State could boast of. Few politicians in the ultracompetitive world of Washington, D.C., power-scheming can go as far as JACKSON did and retain his dignity, honesty and fortitude.

He was different. Some say he was boring, living a spartan existence and staying clear of a host of vices. Rarely took a drink, and didn't even marry until he was 49.

For the simple and hard-working people who elected SCOOP to six terms in the Senate, he was their only man.

It was so poignantly evident on Sunday, when thousands of mourners went to an Everett funeral home to say their final farewell.

SCOOP was just a smalltown boy who did good. Had he only known how much he was loved. It seems as though everyone in his native Everett showed up.

They came bearing flowers and clutching handkerchiefs, and they shared their memories of the nice Norwegian kid who used to deliver papers to the stately homes in Everett.

That kid grew up to become one of the most powerful men in the United States.

As people in Washington mourned, the world felt great shock and sorrow at the news of his death.

A great statesman, JACKSON was known around the globe as a friend to Israel, a staunch supporter of China, and an outspoken critic of the Soviet Union.

He was a tough, hardheaded debater. He used strength when it was necessary, and gentility when it was called for. Above all, JACKSON wasn't about to let anybody tread on Old Glory.

There are other influential men in the world, and life will certainly go on in the chambers of kings and presidents long after JACKSON's passing is but a yellowed newspaper clipping in someone's scrapbook.

But for the people of this State, JACKSON's death is not so easily forgotten.

Perhaps it is because he was a powerful man, but he was also a man who was loved by the people.



[From the Sacramento County (Calif.) Bee, Sept. 8, 1983]

HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON

It seemed oddly apt, if unfair, that HENRY JACKSON died in the shadow of a major news event (the Soviet downing of a passenger airliner) that all but obscured his passing. For more than 4 decades, JACKSON toiled in the public service—first in the House of Representatives, then for 30 years in the Senate—and achieved a great deal without gaining the public notice he deserved. His bland, straight-arrow style may have been partly responsible for that, and for his failure, twice, to win the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination.

No hint of scandal or of doubledealing ever attached to JACKSON, but honesty was not his only strong suit. Very early on, he fought Senator Joseph McCarthy at a time when that took a lot of courage. He authored the legislation that created the Environmental Protection Agency. And he wrote the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which forbade the U.S. Government from granting trade concessions to countries restricting emigration, an act aimed at Moscow's treatment of the Soviet Jewish population that foreshadowed Jimmy Carter's human rights policy by several years. JACKSON was not a wealthy man, but he donated all his earnings from speeches to a scholarship fund for needy students.

Critics called him the "Senator from Boeing," a jibe JACKSON took in stride. The fact that the airplane manufacturer is the largest employer in Washington State obviously had something to do with his support of the aerospace industry, but so did the Senator's unshakeable conviction that the Soviet Union is an untrustworthy adversary and that the best guarantee against war is a strong Defense Establishment. He also endorsed this country's participation in Vietnam, a position that deprived him permanently of support from the left wing of his party, a price he paid willingly for holding to his convictions.

HENRY JACKSON never achieved his highest aspiration—the Presidency—but his long and distinguished career, and his uncompromising dedication to the principles he held, constitute an enduring memorial to one of the finest U.S. Senators of our time.



[From the Fremont (Calif.) Argus, Sept. 4, 1983]

AN HONORABLE MAN

It was ironic that Senator HENRY JACKSON suffered a fatal heart attack Thursday shortly after holding a press conference to make public his reaction to the shooting down of an unarmed South Korean jetliner by the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly, he condemned the act.

To the last, "SCOOP" JACKSON had few kind words for the Russians.

For most of his 43 years in the U.S. Congress, first in the House of Representatives and for nearly 30 years in the Senate, JACKSON was an implacable foe of the Soviet Union, of worldwide communism and the godless Marxist doctrine that is its centerpiece.

Senior Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee (and its chairman when his party had the majority vote), JACKSON was an indefatigable hawk who never relaxed his efforts to maintain this Nation's military strength.

Yet he was a liberal in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt when it came to social issues. Washington State's senior Senator was also a power on the Senate Energy and Natural Resources (formerly Interior) Committee.

He understood the relationship between mankind and nature and he was a pioneer in supporting many environmental protective measures now widely accepted as essential to the Nation's well-being.

Many consider him the "father" of the Environmental Protection Act.

In all his works, in all his deeds, HENRY JACKSON was known by friend and foe alike as an honorable man.

He served under nine Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan—and the administration of each of those men gained in some measure from JACKSON's counsel and his legislative accomplishments.

His examples of leadership and steadfast devotion to the causes he championed earn him a prominent and lasting place in American history.

The Nation, the U.S. Senate, will both be diminished in some measure with the death of Senator HENRY JACKSON.

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune, Sept. 10, 1983]

SCOOP JACKSON—LIBERAL BUT NO FOOL

(By Guy Trotter)

The late Senator HENRY JACKSON explained his political stance thus: "I am a liberal, but I'm not a damned fool." The statement referred to his consistently liberal positions on domestic issues and equally consistent hawkishness on foreign affairs and national defense. The clear implication was that anyone with the perception of a myopic maggot could see that the Soviet Government was not to be trusted; and that anyone who failed to see it was a "damned fool."

He could—and occasionally did—cite chapter and verse from Marx, Engels and Lenin to explain why the Soviets act as they do. He'd then point out the relationships between the actions of Stalin, Khrushchev or Brezhnev and principles laid down by the founding fathers of communism. He was constantly amazed that so few of his liberal brethren could grasp so basic a truth. He branded their failure to do so "selective credibility based upon wishful thinking." He noted that our Government leaders usually act as they do because they are following the advice of their ideological forefathers.

"Why," he'd ask, "is it so strange that the Russians should do likewise?"

We had lunch together in Everett on my last day of active duty in the Navy, under the vigilant surveillance of Secret Service agents. At the time JACKSON was a leading contender for the Presidency, and I've often wondered since that day how different our history might have been if he'd won the nomination.

JACKSON could have saved millions of Democratic votes forfeited by the liberal extremism of George McGovern. He might have beaten Nixon on that November and we'd have been spared the agony of Watergate. Further, the South Vietnamese chesnut might have been pulled out of the fire by a Commander in Chief who understood the situation and who could have kept in line a jelly-spined Senate infected with bug-out fever.

With his comprehension of the necessity for strong deterrence against aggression, JACKSON might not have permitted the post-Vietnam cutbacks which have resulted in Soviet supremacy in both strategic and conventional forces.

I don't think the Soviets would have liked SCOOP JACKSON as President; but they'd have dammed well respected him. However, " * * * of all sad words of tongue or pen, the saddest are these: 'It might have been.' "

HENRY M. JACKSON will be sorely missed. He was one of a vanishing breed, a politician who put service to his country ahead of personal interest.

Sometimes it seems that the Soviets operate under a compulsion to prove that SCOOP JACKSON was right. We no sooner begin to think that the denizens of the Kremlin may be mellowing than they do something traumatic to disillusion us—to bring us back to the reality that is Marxist-Leninism.

The senseless and brutal act which President Reagan has characterized as a "massacre" was much worse than that. It was a cynical, defiant rejection of human values and basic decency. History relates details of many massacres, but most were incident to declared and active wars. The Korean Air Lines 747 shoot-down was a calculated ambush of helpless civilians on a commercial

flight in time of peace. The 269 victims dry-gulched by the Soviets posed no threat whatsoever. In this respect the act was also cowardly.

The Kremlin's accounting for the tragedy has been a series of lies attempting to blame everyone except themselves. The frequency-heard diagnosis—paranoia—offers only a partial explanation. More critical is the inescapable conclusion that, to the Soviets, human life is of no intrinsic value. To such a government, any strategy—including a resort to nuclear warfare—is not only “thinkable,” it can be justifiable.

From the American left, we may reasonably expect a denunciation of “linkage.” They'll tell us that unacceptable bestial behavior by the U.S.S.R. in one area of interest—such as perimeter defense—should not be permitted to influence our attitudes toward negotiations in other areas such as arms control. That is asking too much. It is profoundly stupid. Who among you—having been cheated by a bullying con man in previous negotiations, an avowed antagonist who'd stolen real estate from your friends, who's plundered, slaughtered, and raped your neighbors and who'd threatened to “bury” you—would then purchase an insurance policy from the bastard?

International masochism must have some limit short of unconditional surrender.



[From the Bremerton (Wash.) Sun, Sept. 5, 1983]

“SCOOP” WILL BE MISSED

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON seemed indestructible, almost as if he could go on forever.

He wasn't, of course, but that appearance of immortality misled a lot of us, making his death Thursday a shock.

Because of that, it may take awhile before the real impact of “SCOOP” JACKSON's death sinks in.

For now, we're mourning the death of a man, who, because of his honesty and his warmth, was one of the most loved public figures in the State of Washington.

And that's a huge loss, because politicians with JACKSON's humanity are in short supply.

But the bigger loss by far is SCOOP JACKSON the U.S. Senator.

As a Senator, JACKSON cast a giant shadow, lending his State much more clout nationally than its population or its economy could have ever brought otherwise.

He established himself as an international figure, with his immense knowledge on defense matters, and with his stubborn, hard-line position on the Soviet Union.

That position hadn't changed a bit, even on the day of his death, when he called the Soviets barbarians for shooting down an unarmed Korean airliner that had strayed over Soviet airspace.

For the moment, at least, it seems SCOOP JACKSON wasn't so stubborn on the subject of the Russians after all. Perhaps it just took awhile for events, and public perception, to catch up.

JACKSON wasn't one of those Senators who establish a national and international reputation and expertise while ignoring the folks back home, however.

He didn't spend 31 years in the U.S. Senate by forgetting who put him in office.

Senator JACKSON used his clout in Washington, D.C., to the benefit of his home State.

He was a moving force, for example, behind legislation that prevents Federal agencies from even studying transfer of Columbia River water to the Southwest.

He sponsored two bills of major impact on parks in Washington State: the "Fort Lawton bill," which led to the creation of Seattle's Discovery Park, and the amendment of the Land and Water Conservation Act, so that money from Federal offshore leases could be used as grants to acquire local parklands.

And Senator JACKSON sponsored the 1970 National Environmental Policy Act, which requires environmental impact statements on major Federal projects.

And certainly, apropos the holiday today, Senator JACKSON was a great friend of labor.

But probably the most impact for the State, and especially for Kitsap County, came from his efforts in behalf of defense projects.

On a statewide level his efforts won him the title "the Senator from Boeing."

In Kitsap County, his efforts meant a thriving Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, which has come to mean a thriving economy for the county.

Dr. Calvin Christensen, a former president of the Puget Sound Naval Base Association and a member since 1968, credits Senator JACKSON with getting the shipyard involved with nuclear work, which Christensen thinks has been its salvation.

Because of that conversion, the shipyard is almost unique in its ability to handle nuclear ships, which Christensen sees as the wave of the future.

And of course, it's impossible to mention the nuclear Navy without also mentioning Adm. Hyman Rickover, whose career JACKSON saved.

Christensen also credits JACKSON with heavy involvement in getting the Trident submarine base located at Bangor, and, just as important, with helping Kitsap County get Trident impact funds to help pay for needed roads, schools, and other services.

"SCOOP did everything we hoped for and beyond," Christensen said.

He did that, and he will be sorely missed.



[From the Winslow (Wash.) Bainbridge Review, Sept. 7, 1983]

FAREWELL TO SCOOP

We didn't always agree with him but, like the rest of the press people who covered the late Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON at one time or another, we had to admire the man.

He was a workaholic, who did his homework. He had a tremendous store of knowledge, particularly in the realm of U.S. history and international relations.

We recall one Poulsbo breakfast session a number of years ago, when the Senator talked for nearly 2 hours without notes—answering questions with facts and figures that were recalled as easily as if by computer.

A giant on the national and international scene, he was also a family man. He had married in middle age, and seemed to appreciate his two children more than most fathers—perhaps because he had waited so long for them. We recall that after the breakfast session in Poulsbo he posed for photographers—with his arms around a couple of middle-school “newspaper brats.”

His place in history is secure. He will also be missed as husband and father, friend of many, and a decent, kind, honest citizen who set standards—in his personal as well as professional life—we all might emulate.



[From the Bothell (Wash.) Northshore Citizen, Sept. 7, 1983]

PASSING OF A STATESMAN AND FRIEND

U.S. Senator HENRY “SCOOP” JACKSON is dead at 71.

SCOOP was a frequent visitor and good friend to the Northshore area, and often remarked how much he felt at home when he was here.

He used to call to check on what was happening locally, and would sometimes volunteer a visit if someone could set up an early morning breakfast where he could meet people. He particularly liked the grilling he got at the question and answer part of any program.

SCOOP would often arrive with his ever-present briefcase in one hand and an arm load of clothes in some kind of carrier in the other. Frequently he would just have someone drop him off and rely on a friend offering to take him to his next location.

He never appeared to be in a hurry. Yet his day was jammed full of meetings, appearances, and press conferences.

SCOOP was readily available to the press, and we presume to any of his constituents. He always returned telephone calls. And he always responded to written notes.

The State and country will miss him.

And I will miss the opportunity to set up the rather frequent breakfasts he liked. And I'll miss firing some questions on current news events at him.

It was proper that he worked at his rigorous pace right to the end. Just a few days ago he was in China. The day SCOOP died he sharply criticized the Russians for shooting down an unarmed commercial aircraft.

He was tough, well informed and spoke out on issues he believed in. The entire country will miss him.

It is the end of an era for Washington's senatorial delegation. In just 2 years the State has lost both of its senior Senators, and the power that they held.

It is likely that the State will never again carry such clout in our Nation's affairs.

[From the Stevenson (Wash.) Skamania County Pioneer, Sept. 9, 1983]

TALKING IT OVER

(By Roy Craft)

When Senator HENRY M. JACKSON died last week at the age of 71, the Nation and the free world lost a strong leader, the Pacific Northwest lost a powerful advocate, and people throughout Washington State lost a good friend.

He liked to be called "SCOOP," his nickname from boyhood days when he delivered newspapers, but when I had occasion to chat with him on various occasions over the years, I always called him "Senator." It was not that I was awed by his official status, it was simply that I felt it inappropriate to address a man of his strength and stature by his first name, much less nickname.

He always signed his letters "SCOOP" when responding to queries or requests for help for someone in Skamania County. When he was here June 1 helping dedicate the second powerhouse at Bonneville Dam, I handed him a note asking him to give the U.S. Emigration and Naturalization Service a nudge and urge them to expedite the paperwork so that Salvacion, the bride of Robert L. Stevens of Carson, could leave the Philippines and join her husband here. They had been married on the Island of Mindanao April 16.

Upon his return to Washington, D.C., Senator JACKSON wrote that he had made the request and asked me to let him know if no action was taken within 60 days. Some weeks back Stevens received word from the Emigration Service that Mrs. Stevens' papers had been processed and her entry into the United States approved.

Paperwork still needs to be done by the U.S. Embassy in Manila, Stevens was informed Wednesday, but it is expected that Bob's bride will be arriving soon.

This is just an example of Senator JACKSON's interest in the welfare of all of the people he was elected to serve.

As an individual, I never tried to impose on Senator JACKSON's time during his visits to Skamania County. As a newspaperman, I sometimes had occasion to ask him questions or inform him of our county's concerns in certain areas. He was invariably pleasant and he always spoke to the point.

Everyone has his or her recollections of contact with our Senator. One I recall was a chat with "SCOOP" JACKSON at the Salishan Lodge on the Oregon coast in 1971. JACKSON was then weighing the possibility of running for President and he was there to speak at a luncheon of the Associated Oregon Industries, a "big business" group with whom he was on as friendly terms as he was with "big labor."

I was to speak at the dinner that evening and Gracie and I arrived early to hear JACKSON speak. Before the luncheon we had an opportunity for a short visit and he showed a genuine interest in my quick report on the political climate of Skamania County.

A lacquered tray, a present from the Associated Oregon Industries, is inscribed Sept. 17, 1971. It reminds me of my Salishan visit but, more important, it reminds me of a coincidental encounter with one of the great personages of my time.

Funeral services were held in Everett Wednesday and the scramble for his Senate post has begun. Let us hope we choose wisely in electing his successor. JACKSON's shoes will be hard to fill.



[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Sept. 14, 1983]

SCOOP JACKSON AND THE CHARISMA FACTOR

(By Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover)

When the news came the other day of the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, much of the commentary touched on the man's intense commitments to liberal domestic causes and to a hard line in dealing with the Soviet Union.

It was a mark of the man that he cared deeply about the positions he took and acted vigorously in pursuit of their fulfillment. Yet when JACKSON made his two bids for the Presidency in 1972 and 1976, he was saddled with one of the deadliest stigmas that can be attached to a politician. He was, it was said over and over again, boring.

So intense was he in enunciating his commitments that more often than not it came off as preaching. And because he was no barrel of laughs either, a SCOOP JACKSON speech could send an insomniac off to dreamland.

His campaign advertising consultants, painfully aware that JACKSON was said to have no charisma, for a time in 1976 tried to make a silk purse out of that particular sow's ear by focusing on his established qualifications as a legislator. They talked of JACKSON's "charisma of competence," in effect trying to shame the voters into giving their support on more serious grounds than star appeal.

In 1976, one of JACKSON's campaign managers recalls, an advertising agency hotshot planned a television commercial showing JACKSON speaking while holding his young son on his knee. JACKSON was to say something like, "Hello, I'm SCOOP JACKSON. People say I'm boring but I don't think it's boring to * * *" and then launch into his concerns and achievements. In the commercial, the Senator's son was to have fallen asleep as his father droned on. Not surprisingly, the idea was abandoned.

Another favorite story that one of his best friends in the State of Washington liked to use to illustrate JACKSON's special political problem, was the one about the dogfood manufacturer who called in the members of his board to ask why his product didn't sell, although the best ingredients and the most attractive packaging were used. "Dogs don't like it," was the answer.

It was maddening to JACKSON himself and to his managers to have a candidate who was so widely regarded as one of the most effective Members of the Senate and a repeated landslide winner in his own State, a man who was a bear for work and the soul of integrity dismissed out of hand by many because he seldom had them rolling in the aisles.

Ironically, another politician who, in 1976, demonstrated equal intensity but crowned it with a rare personal warmth that JACKSON could not match beat him out for the Democratic nomination. That man was Jimmy Carter. Later, to be sure Carter's evangelistic style and proclamations of love for everybody wore very thin. But, in 1976, he was more personally appealing than the straight-laced JACKSON as the centrist candidate in a field otherwise awash with

liberals—Morris Udall, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris, Sargent Shriver, Milton Shapp, and Terry Sanford—plus George Wallace on the right.

All this is not to suggest that Jimmy Carter rather than SCOOP JACKSON became the 1976 Democratic nominee, and then President simply because Carter had a more dazzling smile and was more of a charmer with the voters. Carter's campaign was infinitely shrewder, and JACKSON's was rent with organizational and financial woes.

Also, JACKSON brought some political scars into the race for the Democratic nomination as a longtime hawk on Vietnam in a party heavily populated by committed activists to whom opposition to the war still was a pivotal litmus test of liberalism. As an old New Dealer, it used to drive JACKSON up the wall to have his own liberal credentials questioned. But they were, widely, on Vietnam.

Still, you have to wonder whether he might have attained his goal of the Presidency in 1976 had there been a spark of excitement about him. We like to think we elect our Presidents on what they know and stand for, but a fair case can be made for the proposition that personal appeal is almost always a major ingredient in the people's choice.

By the time 1980 rolled around, Jimmy Carter's charm had lost its luster—indeed he sacrificed much of it by seeming mean and short-tempered toward the new Mr. Nice Guy, Ronald Reagan, in their campaign. And who is to say, if Reagan runs for and wins a second term that charisma won't be a factor again?

Achieving the Presidency however, is not the only measure of political success. That fact was emphatically demonstrated by the wide outpouring of acclaim from Democrats and Republicans alike for HENRY M. JACKSON on his passing.



[From the Pasco (Wash.) Tri-City Herald, Sept. 4, 1983]

JACKSON WAS A GREAT LEADER

(By Glenn C. Lee)

The death of HENRY M. JACKSON is a great loss to the State, the Nation and the world. He will be sorely missed by everyone in the Tri-Cities. He was a great friend of this community, and of Hanford, a great leader in our Nation's Capital, and respected around the world.

I first met Senator JACKSON in 1947 when he was a Congressman. He visited the Tri-Cities and the Tri-City Herald, which had just changed from weekly to daily publication. Mr. JACKSON was visiting Hanford because of an announcement that General Electric Co. would replace du Pont and \$350 million would be spent to expand nuclear facilities on the project. Mr. JACKSON was a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

All through the years of his career in Congress. Senator JACKSON kept in close touch with nuclear matters and with Hanford's growth and progress.

When N-reactor was nearing completing in 1960-61, the movement to construct an electrical generating plant in conjunction with it ran into a great deal of opposition. Senator JACKSON favored the dual-purpose project. Private

power opposed it. However, public power, with Mr. JACKSON's leadership, proposed a bond issue of \$120 million to pay for construction of the generating plant and the Senator introduced authorization legislation in the Senate four times. But each time private power and other interests defeated the bill in the House.

With encouragement from the Herald and public power, Senator Jackson introduced the bill in the Senate a fifth time, and with a great deal of work and effort it was passed in the House and signed into law. President John F. Kennedy came to Hanford, Sept. 26, 1963, for the dedication and ground-breaking ceremonies.

Without Senator JACKSON's help, the plant that generates electricity with steam from N-reactor never would have been built. It was his idea that the electrical output of the plant would be shared 50-50 between private and public power.

On one of the many trips Don Pugnetti (then editor of the Herald) and I made to Washington, D.C., in 1961-62, we learned that all of Hanford's reactors might be shut down at one time.

So, in 1963, the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council was formed. With help, leadership and cooperation of Senator JACKSON, the diversification plan for Hanford took shape. General Electric was asked to leave as a contractor at Hanford, diversification brought in new contractors and new businesses, and Senator JACKSON was our friend and helper all the way.

Without him, diversification of Hanford never would have taken place and never would have succeeded. I have personal knowledge of that.

Sam Volpentest (Nuclear Council executive vice president) was a great friend of Senator JACKSON and supported him by helping raise funds for political campaigns, by getting an excellent crowd together for lunch or dinner when Senator JACKSON visited the Tri-Cities, and we always had access to the Senator and his office.

Mr. JACKSON didn't limit his activities to nuclear power. He initiated and pushed through Congress legislation that blocked the diversion of water from the Columbia River to California and the Southwest. He was chairman of the Senate Interior (now Energy) Committee for many years.

The death of Senator JACKSON is a great loss. His particular experience, and knowledge, and courage can never be replaced. He was a great leader.



[From the Pasco (Wash.) Tri-City Herald, Sept. 4, 1983]

AS ERA ENDS, WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

With HENRY JACKSON's death, an era comes to an end.

It was an era in which our economic destiny was determined by the political power of two Democratic Senators—Warren Magnuson and SCOOP JACKSON.

They played the system like a musical instrument, funneling hundreds of millions of Federal dollars into the State, much of it to Hanford.

The era began to fade in 1980 when Mr. Magnuson was defeated and Democrats lost control of the Senate. The era closed completely when Senator JACKSON died.

Hanford's role is basically national defense and energy. Mr. JACKSON was the Senate leader in both areas, and so long as he was there his influence would have been used within the system to serve the needs of the country and his constituents as he saw fit.

Until his death, it appeared that this term could have turned out to be Mr. JACKSON's most powerful one, particularly if the Democrats were to regain control of the Senate in next year's election, as seems probable since 19 Republican Senators face reelection. Decisions such as the recent one citing a new defense reactor in Idaho might have been easily reversed after the election had Senator JACKSON lived and become chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The prospect now is that this State will have two first-term Republican Senators in a Congress dominated by Democratic majorities in both Houses.

This prospect requires a thorough—and painful—change of attitude by Tri-Citians. No longer can we rely so heavily on political influence in Washington, D.C. to keep us supplied with Government projects and payrolls.

Hanford will still be Hanford, the finest nuclear installation in the Nation. And its credentials should entitle it to top consideration for more defense and energy projects.

But it won't get its rightful share unless it has powerful advocates in Washington.

Senator JACKSON's death painfully brings home messages we must not ignore as a community.

Message No. 1: We have lost our strongest advocates and it will take years to develop new ones.

Message No. 2: Meantime, we must be more effective than ever before in developing new components for our economic base that are not so heavily dependent on either the Federal Government or nuclear energy.

Message No. 3: To effectively address our long term economic needs, this community must develop institutions and strategies that are unified and communitywide in scope designed to repair problems that obstruct healthy new economic development and to actively recruit new employment.

This last message is the most important. Our prosperity in the past 40 years has been politically based and has come in spite of our inability as a community to mount a sophisticated and ongoing economic development program that looks beyond the boundaries of Hanford.

It's time. It is long overdue. Our cities, counties, chambers of commerce, the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council, ports, and other agencies and entities with a stake in the future of the Tri-Cities should begin now the process of reevaluating both their structures and missions for the future.



[From the Pasco (Wash.) Tri-City Herald, Sept. 4, 1983]

FAREWELL TO A FRIEND

Shortly before Senator HENRY M. JACKSON had a fatal heart attack Thursday night, he strongly condemned as "barbaric" the shooting down of a South Korean airliner by a Soviet jet fighter. He was an implacable critic of Russia,

which he was fond of saying is like a hotel burglar who goes down the hallway trying every door. For him, the wanton destruction of the 747 with 269 aboard was just another proof of Russian perfidy.

Mr. JACKSON served in Congress 42 years—the last 30 as a Senator—and racked up what one admiring colleague called “a prodigious record of accomplishment.” His record is as broad as it is long, but perhaps his greatest contribution—certainly it was the one in which he took greatest pride—was in national defense. He poured much of his enormous energy and talent into keeping his country militarily strong.

He was motivated by a deep distrust of the Soviet Union and a belief that the only way to deal with Russia is from a position of overwhelming military strength based on the most advanced weapons systems. He led—almost always successfully—Senate fights for one advanced weapons system after another and so sincere was his belief in the value of such systems that even his critics conceded he would have pushed for them just as hard if his home State economy had not depended substantially on military spending.

On global matters, he was a blunt, direct, tough anti-Communist. On domestic matters, he was a compassionate liberal, a friend of labor, of education.

He was environmentalism’s most effective friend in the Senate. He was the principal author of the Environmental Protection Act, which truly was landmark legislation.

He was a “workaholic” who seldom missed a rollcall vote or a committee hearing.

Republican and Democratic colleagues alike conceded him to be not only one of the hardest-working Members of the Senate, but one of the most effective. He was elected to the House in 1941 as a Franklin D. Roosevelt Democrat. He always had the support of organized labor, liberal Democrats—and of business people, many of them Republicans.

He and former Senator Warren G. Magnuson were known as the “gold dust twins” because of their phenomenal ability “to deliver the goods” for their constituents and interests as varied as the University of Washington, Hanford, and Boeing.

Senator JACKSON was a friend of Israel from its beginnings and he fought hard—and successfully—to force the Soviet Union to permit thousands of Russian Jews to immigrate.

When he was in the House of Representatives, he represented the Everett Congressional District. But as a member of the prestigious Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, he spent a lot of time in the Tri-Cities and had a major role in the development of Hanford. After he switched from the House to the Senate, in 1952, he worked harder than ever for Hanford and nuclear energy.

He was a key figure in accomplishing the “miracle in the desert,” the conversion of Hanford from a military to a peacetime mission during the 1960’s and 1970’s. He helped get diversification of the Tri-Cities economy started by advocating, and pushing, the development of irrigation, barge transportation, and other natural resources of this region.

Mr. JACKSON’s parents were Norwegian immigrants and he was proud of his humble origins in Everett, Wash., where as a newsboy he acquired his nickname of “SCOOP.”

He made two attempts, in 1972 and 1976, to win the Democratic nomination for President. Both were unsuccessful, but he gained national stature, which he used skillfully to better do his job as Senator and Statesman.

He would have been an outstanding President. He was highly intelligent, finely trained and disciplined in his chosen field, and a man of courage and high principle.

The world has lost a statesman who grasped the political realities of our time, who understood the need for a balance of power to insure peace and preserve freedom.

His immense influence and prestige gave this State a disproportionate impact on national policy. His death is a great loss to the Nation.

And the Tri-Cities has lost a loyal and valued friend.



[From the Longview (Wash.) News, Sept. 2, 1983]

A STUNNING LOSS

(By Ted M. Natt)

Men of the caliber of HENRY JACKSON are an exceedingly rare breed in public life in America.

Senator JACKSON's death Thursday of a heart attack is a stunning, numbing tragedy for the State and the Nation. The loss is felt deeply, painfully, and personally by hundreds of thousands of Washington residents who knew their favorite Senator simply as "SCOOP."

If one were to construct an ideal model of a public servant, JACKSON comes the closest of anyone I have known to meeting that ideal.

He was competent, honest, exceptionally hard working, selfless, dedicated, maintained the highest integrity, cared about people, and always put the public interest first on his priority list.

Although he was 71, he maintained a work schedule that would exhaust a man 30 years younger. He cared so deeply about his Nation, his State and his fellow citizens that he drove himself with a passion. His hard work paid off in terms of the respect and admiration of his colleagues in the Congress and his constituents in the State.

JACKSON was the single most admired public official in the State. He knew thousands of his constituents by their first names and had been in office long enough to know their children and grandchildren. He routinely won reelection with 70 percent or 80 percent of the vote, a remarkable feat in itself.

JACKSON's death will be felt deeply and across a wide range of issues both in the State and Nationally. His support or opposition on an issue, whether of State or National import, often made the difference between victory or defeat.

Over the past 3½ years, whenever I called SCOOP JACKSON for help on Mount St. Helens matters, he was more than happy to do whatever he could. Time and again, he came through for this community. He made a point of calling periodically for updates. What could he do? What were the priorities? How were people adjusting? he would ask. He visited regularly to see things for himself.

JACKSON was an exceptional man in many ways. While his colleagues supplemented their Senate salaries with speaking honoraria, every dime JACKSON earned making speeches was put into a trust fund in Everett that gave scholarships to needy students. JACKSON never kept anything for himself.

He was a great man and a good friend. Not since my grandfather died 2½ years ago have I felt such grief.

Today, our thoughts and prayers are for Helen Jackson, the Senator's lovely and gracious wife, and his children, Anna Marie and Peter.



[From the Pasco (Wash.) Tri-City Herald, Sept. 4, 1983]

1945 NORWEGIAN VISIT GAVE JACKSON A SENSE OF MORTALITY

(By Jack Briggs)

It was just a year ago when this reporter was sitting in the red leather seats that come as standard Government issue to Senators in Washington, D.C.

Senator HENRY MARTIN JACKSON's aides had said the Senator could spare half an hour, and JACKSON was filling the 30 minutes with hood-eyed recitations of campaign speeches and platitudes about nuclear energy, social security, and arms control.

In one of the few pauses JACKSON was asked if, at 70, he was fit enough to serve his country for another 6 years.

The eyes jerked open, the body sprang from the encompassing leather, and JACKSON had the reporter's hand in an arm-wrestling hold.

With embarrassingly little effort, and with only a slight reddening of his tanned face, he bent the reporter's hand towards the floor.

"Does that answer your question?," snapped the man who went to Congress a year before America entered World War II.

JACKSON was touchy about health.

Two years before, JACKSON's powerful buddy, Senator Warren Magnuson, a 75-year-old who had trouble walking, had lost his Senate seat to a jogging 52-year-old State attorney general named Slade Gorton.

"Maggie was inundated with anti-Carter feeling, and was having trouble moving around," was JACKSON's explanation.

JACKSON made it clear he had no such problems.

"You pick good ancestors and then you don't abuse (your body). You have fun. But you follow the rule of moderation and commonsense."

In his book, "SCOOP," author Peter Ognibene said that Jackson was the youngest of five children born to emigrants from Norway who had changed their name from Gresseth.

Ognibene quoted a neighbor of the Jacksons as saying HENRY was a "runt who didn't grow up or play hard until after he had his appendix removed," a boy who was "undersized and a bit timid."

After a career as a crusading Snohomish County prosecutor, observers were calling the junior Congressman who flew to his parents' native Norway in December 1954, neither small, nor timid.

But what they almost got to call him was the late junior Congressman from Washington.

In their book, "A Certain Democrat," William Prochnau and Richard Larsen described how JACKSON contacted pneumonia and for 48 hours hovered near death until an American Air Corps plane flew in the first vial of the then-miracle drug, penicillin, to be used in Norway.

JACKSON spent 10 days in the hospital. His bill, under the Norwegian national health-care plan, was \$15.44.

The experience was to shape JACKSON's thinking for the rest of his life.

He was concerned about health-care costs, especially for the elderly.

And he gained a respect for his own mortality.

"He was not a reckless man with his health," said Rick Cocker, his press aid for the past 5½ years. "He was very careful. He was somewhat of a physician by hobby. He enjoyed diagnosing medical problems people had and prescribing treatments. He was fluent in medical lingo. He knew all the medical terminology and enjoyed talking to groups of physicians."

He was also a man who believed in preventive medicine.

Six days a week he spent an hour in the Senate gym, swimming a quarter of a mile, jogging, and walking.

"He made it a habit," said Cocker. "People go to lunch at 12:30 p.m. The Senator went to the gym at 5 p.m.—every day. The Scarsdale diet and his gym activities kept in hand a propensity for weight gain that tended to make his face moonshaped, jowly, and oversized for his 5-9½ frame.

The only minor health problem he would admit to publicly was a weak back, a reminder of the McCarthy hearings in the 1950's when, as JACKSON put it, "The cameras were on you all day for 3 months. You couldn't pick your nose or scratch."

JACKSON had just survived what Cocker said was a hectic August.

"The Armed Services Committee had been wrestling with the Pentagon budget and had literally worked around the clock for much of the month."

When JACKSON left for China on what Cocker said was a "real tough schedule," there had been no signs of any medical problems.

JACKSON had taken with him his personal physician, Dr. Haak Raede. "But merely as a friend, not as a physician," said Cocker.

The fact that JACKSON returned with a chest cold and stayed at his Everett home with no appointments Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday caused no concern, said Cocker.

"He got those chest colds on a fairly regular basis.

"He was as healthy as a horse and as strong as a bull."

Or so everyone thought.



[From the Tacoma (Wash.) Tribune, Sept. 11, 1983]

THE MESSAGE FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN FOR SCOOP

(By Arpad Kadarkay)

A free Nation paid a moving tribute to HENRY JACKSON whose life and public career symbolizes the best of America. I never met SCOOP JACKSON and yet our fate intertwined on a brief but memorable occasion.

Some 8 years ago, I was invited by SENATOR JACKSON's office to join, with other scholars, a congressional committee visiting Taiwan.

After the committee completed its official business in Taiwan, I decided to return to the United States via East Europe. In one of the East European capitals I visited three prominent dissident intellectuals.

All three, who were also university professors, committed the unpardonable political sin of calling for the cultural "renaissance" of communism. To make matters worse, at least from the standpoint of the Communist regime, all three published their views in West Europe.

The regime's reprisal was swift and brutal. The dissidents lost their jobs, one was even kicked out of the party, and were given the choice: either remain silent or face exile.

The day before my departure, I visited one dissident in his spacious apartment—a rare privilege in a Communist country. He was young, married, and brilliant. He neither wanted to remain silent nor live in exile.

He asked me to alert Senator HENRY JACKSON, who was admired by East European intellectuals for his efforts to suspend U.S. aid to Communist countries that abused human rights, about the plight of dissident intellectuals.

I promised to do my best upon returning to the United States. Leaving the apartment, the dissident turned to me and said casually, "If I were you, I would not make note of our conversation in your notebook."

The significance of this innocent remark dawned on me as I handed over my passport to an internal security officer at the airport. The officer stepped out of his booth and spread his arms across the corridor. "You come with me!" he demanded.

We entered a sparsely furnished, soundproof room. Three more uniformed security officers entered and closed the padded door.

They spread the contents of my suitcase on two long tables and examined every single item, even snaked my ties between their fingers.

My hard-bound notebook was turned over to a civilian, impeccably dressed, who entered the room through a side-door.

He carefully studied the dates of entries, then walked up to me with the open book. "Where is your September 20 entry?" he wanted to know.

I was thunderstruck. That was the day I visited the dissident's apartment. In a dizzying moment I realized that the apartment had been bugged and the monster reel with total recall was in the possession of my interrogators.

The civilian was visibly annoyed. "I see that you write every day," he said, his eyes boring through me.

"Yes."

"Then why not on September 20?"

"I was tired."

The uniformed officers and the civilian huddled in whispers in the far corner. The civilian returned with the notebook and asked me to explain the meaning of some underlined words in an entry.

I looked at the "suspicious" entry. It contained the following—John Keats (1795–1821) said the world is a "vale of soulmaking." I have underlined, in red ink, "soulcraft" and added, SCOOP JACKSON demonstrates that statecraft is soulcraft.

"It is a quote from Keats," I said to the civilian.

"Did you talk to and meet Keats here?" snapped the civilian.

"No, in England," I said quietly, my inside exploding with laughter.

They let me go. But as I was about to leave, I was stopped at the padded door.

"What message do you carry to Senator HENRY JACKSON?" asked the civilian.

"None."

I was placed in a jeep and raced to the London-bound plane, already delayed one hour on the runway on account of my interrogation.

I never told SCOOP JACKSON about my experience with John Keats in communism. He would have enjoyed it because SCOOP JACKSON's life testifies that this Republic "shall not perish from the Earth" so long as we produce statesmen who turn statecraft into soulcraft.



[From the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman Review, Sept. 11, 1983]

JACKSON ALWAYS HAD TIME TO HELP THE "LITTLE PEOPLE"

(By Michael Murphey)

As Senator HENRY M. JACKSON's staff members consider the loose ends to be tied up during the last hectic weeks before they go their separate ways, their greatest concerns lie not in the arena of world politics but in the hopes of people who had counted on the Senator's help.

"We have hundreds of cases ranging from emigration problems to social security problems to veterans' benefits to railroad retirement programs," Rich Cocker, JACKSON's press secretary, said. "There is no doubt in my mind nor in anyone else's mind here that Senator JACKSON would want that to be the highest priority—to make sure these cases are carried on."

JACKSON's interest in the individuals who called upon him for help was overshadowed during his career, Cocker said, by media interest in JACKSON's national and international views.

"That's what television and newspapers always wanted to talk about," Cocker said, "so he came across as maybe appearing cold or tough.

"But I think he got as much of a charge out of helping a woman in Ephrata get her social security benefits as he did putting together some piece of national legislation," Cocker said. "I personally think that's what motivated and inspired him over 40 years."

"People take jobs and talk about getting bored with them after 4 or 5 years. But here he was, 42 years, and he still had a kind of childhood enthusiasm about his work. I think that was the product of a genuine interest in people and their problems."

Cocker spoke in a telephone interview Thursday, interrupted occasionally as he called out instructions about which boxes stayed and which boxes went as the Washington Democrat's offices and his staff were being cleared to make way for Daniel J. Evans, JACKSON's Republican successor.

The staff and JACKSON's papers and records are being moved to a temporary space upstairs in the office building.

From the temporary offices, the staff will try to sort through 42 years of papers and records "to be sure the historical record of HENRY JACKSON's service is preserved."

And from there, they will work with Evans and his staff to make the transition a smooth one.

It has been a week of arrangements and preparations, Cocker said, a week in which the people closest to JACKSON probably have not had time to fully absorb the impact of this abrupt change in their lives.

"I thought he'd live to be 90," Cocker said, "and I think he did, too."

Many people think, Cocker said, that when a constituent calls or writes his Senator, the Senator responds because it is politically expedient.

"But how many cases do you work on over a year?" Cocker wondered. "A thousand? What's a thousand votes in the scope of a statewide election? No, those cases were a source of tremendous satisfaction to him. He liked helping people, completely aside from whether they agreed with him politically or not.

"There was a human side to HENRY JACKSON that people who didn't know him didn't get to know very much about.

"And that's too bad."



[From the Vancouver (Wash.) Columbian, Sept. 2, 1983]

SENATOR HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON

Only hours after his death, they are already making history out of SCOOP JACKSON of Washington State.

Powerful Senator * * * influential statesman * * * hawkish anti-Communist; last of the cold warriors * * *.

Sonorously, with an air of incontrovertibility, the news reports capsulize JACKSON, reinforcing the image that will likely find its way into textbooks and political memory.

Perhaps that is the inevitable fate for a U.S. Senator who was little short of a legend even in his own time. Certainly, he was powerful. First elected to Congress 43 years ago, JACKSON in time would become part of the most effective State delegation in the Senate. By 1980, when SCOOP's longtime partner Senator Warren Magnuson finally went down to defeat, the two Democratic Senators from Washington collectively had 64 years of Senate seniority and 84 years of experience in Congress—and they used their clout effectively.

And yes, JACKSON was influential. Known—in the corridors of the Kremlin as well as of the White House—as a firm advocate of U.S. military might, the Senator's strong support for defense buildup, Soviet Jews and Israel significantly affected the shape of American foreign policy.

But what history may fail to remember, unless we correct the record now, is that while his power and influence made JACKSON a notable national figure, it was his character—his personal integrity—that made SCOOP a person that Washingtonians aren't likely to soon forget.

JACKSON's integrity made even his adversaries, such as Eugene McCarthy, concede that the "Senator from Boeing" would vote in favor of defense budgets even if Washington were not the home of a major military contractor.

JACKSON voted for defense because he believed in it. The integrity led JACKSON Thursday, at his last public appearance, to counsel for restraint against the Soviets in wake of the downing of Korean Air Lines flight 007. The advice puzzled many, who felt it out of character, but JACKSON—a serious student of Soviet politics—was truly in character, speaking not as others anticipated, but as he believed would be in the best interest of his country.

And the integrity dictated that even as JACKSON was widely known, and frequently castigated, for his positions on such large issues as nuclear arms and international relations, SCOOP kept faith with a small personal gesture. Quietly, year after year, he donated all of his outside earnings to charity.

JACKSON never lost an election in his home State, yet he failed both times when he tried for the U.S. Presidency. That, as much as anything else, may serve as epitaph for SCOOP.

Because his integrity led JACKSON to act himself, even when it was not profitable for his Presidential campaign, those who did not have long years to get to know the individualistic Pacific northwesterner rejected him. But his home State constituents, Republicans as well as Democrats, who had the luxury of long friendship with SCOOP, unfailingly returned him to office. Washingtonians may not always have agreed with SCOOP—but they knew they could trust him to act according to his beliefs.



[From the Port Angeles (Wash.) News, Sept. 2, 1983]

OPINION: LOSS OF SPECIAL FRIEND—SENATOR JACKSON

The North Olympic Peninsula has lost a special friend with the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

Since 1940, when Senator JACKSON was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from a district which encompassed Clallam and Jefferson Counties, he always kept in touch with the area. Without his support countless Federal and even State projects on the Peninsula would have never gotten off the ground. His interests paralleled the interests of the people who have lived on the Peninsula—the environment, economic opportunity, and a strong sense of right and wrong.

Senator JACKSON made friendships—many very strong and very personal—with countless Peninsula residents. In fact, hardly a political argument among locals can endure more than a few minutes before one of the combatants invokes the name of “his friend” SCOOP. Sure, that is part of good political technique, but the bulk of those friendships were beyond that. He had a genuine interest in people here.

JACKSON considered himself a workingman’s politician. We were never sure if that was because he saw politics as a workingman’s job or because he felt it was the workingman he labored for in the Halls of Congress. Judging by the extraordinary effort he put into his job and the results he got, it was probably both.

We were privileged to lunch with the Senator just before the inauguration of Jimmy Carter in January of 1977. JACKSON was simple, straightforward and pleasant in contrast to the elegance of the Senate dining room and despite his

being only recently a front-running Presidential candidate. He was not too busy to be concerned for the comfort of his guests and for small talk, yet his conversation was punctuated with plans for tasks he felt vital to the Nation or his fellow northwesterners.

A year or two later, JACKSON was just the same when a reporter and the publisher of the newspaper treated him to a brown bag lunch on a picnic table in Lincoln Park. The mealtime conversation was still the same: time for a laugh or two but lots of talk about work to be done.

The unexpected heart attack which struck down the vigorous 71-year-old senior Senator from Washington State Thursday evening also closes the book on a Northwest era.

The second to the last chapter was written in 1980 when Senator Warren G. Magnuson lost a bid for reelection. That was after nearly three decades of joint service with JACKSON in the Senate. For all those years JACKSON was the "junior" Senator from Washington. But being junior was not so bad. Not only was he part of one of the best one-two punches in modern Senate history, JACKSON also was a serious contender for Vice President in 1960 and he ran for the Presidency twice, in 1972 and 1976.

As a Presidential candidate, he made a credible effort for a person from a small Western State and for a person who would rather work to solve problems than talk endlessly about them.

As a Senator and friend to the people of the North Olympic Peninsula and a public servant for the entire Northwest, HENRY M. JACKSON was way beyond credible. We were lucky to have him and are sorry to see his death.



[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune, Sept. 3, 1983]

HENRY JACKSON: THE MAN HE WANTED HIMSELF TO BE

(By Jim Fisher)

Chatting with HENRY JACKSON on the Southway Bridge last October, I found it hard to believe this was the man who was first elected to the Senate when I was 5 years old and whose name was one of the first in my political lexicon.

"You know," he would start a sentence in his deliberative—some would say plodding—manner, and then as he finished his observation, he would move in closer and elbow me in the ribs.

There were few people on the bridge even though it was the dedication ceremony, and JACKSON and I stood alone together for several minutes. His retinue was there, no doubt, but no staff members hovered around taking obvious glances at wristwatches to pull him from my clutches.

In fact, I seemed to be more in his clutches. He had time to talk and was clearly enjoying the balmy weather and view of the Snake River. I had introduced myself because he was standing alone when I arrived.

No circle of administrative assistants and press secretaries, no gaggle of political groupies, no aura. Just a couple of guys shooting the breeze after lunch on a warm afternoon.

It was 11 days before the election but you wouldn't have known it. He had always faced opposition, and this year he was being challenged by not only a Republican but an independent as well, but he knew better than to worry.

"I guess not," he smiled when asked if his was one of the close races that he expected would determine the future makeup of the Senate.

The polls showed him way out front, several laps in fact ahead of even the Republican. They usually did; running against JACKSON had become a kamikaze mission to which only the most foolhardy or the most ideological would commit himself.

Even the dumping of Warren G. Magnuson 2 years before had not changed that, because JACKSON had a special constituency. More accurately, he had part ownership in several constituencies.

To the liberals, he was the champion of social welfare and jobs who was disappointing for not breaking free from the cold war rhetoric of the decade he joined the Senate.

To the conservatives, he was the proponent of a strong America who couldn't leave behind New Deal domestic policies his party had been saddled with since the 1930's.

To the environmentalists, he was literally the creator of the North Cascades National Park who turned myopic in looking at some byproducts of progress.

To business he was "the Senator from Boeing" who nevertheless showed a dismaying lack of concern over the growth of the Federal deficit.

They all thought they had part ownership in him. But they didn't. He had carved his own niche not out of political opportunity but out of belief. He proved, for example, that his unyielding distrust of the Soviet Union was more than a sop to the rigid anti-Communists when he embraced warming relations with China.

It's no wonder he was so relaxed that afternoon on the Southway Bridge. He seemed to have achieved what few ever do: He made the career he wanted to have by making himself the man he wanted to be.

He probably wasn't the man most of the rest of us wanted him to be. But that in itself sounds like rare praise in a day of highest bidder politics and cut-rate politicians.



[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune, Sept. 2, 1983]

FRIENDS REMEMBER "SCOOP" AS ALLY, STATESMAN

Though he was a figure of towering national prominence, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON never lost sight of his constituents in southeastern Washington, and news of his death Thursday night shocked friends in the Quad Cities region.

Washington State University President Glenn Terrell, a close personal friend of JACKSON called the Senator's death "a terrible shock and a very real loss."

"I believe he was the most knowledgeable public servant in the country," Terrell said. "He and I were very close personal friends and I have the highest

regard for him. I've known him for more than 16 years, and this is a terrible shock."

JACKSON was the president's convocation speaker at WSU, Oct. 23, 1982. That same day, he was the keynote speaker at the dedication of the \$21 million Southway Bridge, which spans the Snake River between Lewiston and Clarkston. It was JACKSON's last official visit to the Quad Cities region.

Former Idaho State Senator Mike P. Mitchell of Lewiston described JACKSON as a "gentleman" and said that although many of the issues JACKSON was involved with were international in nature, Mitchell felt JACKSON was never too busy to deal with the smaller issues of concern to people in southeastern Washington.

"I always felt Idaho was fortunate to have a leader like him," Mitchell said, because he worked for issues that were important to Idaho, too.

"I guess you don't think of the politician as a statesman until after they're gone," Mitchell said. "And HENRY JACKSON was certainly a statesman."

"I am really shocked," said Bernard P. McCabe, chairman of the Asotin County commission, when contacted late Thursday about JACKSON's death.

McCabe said he heard the news on television about an hour earlier.

"He was an excellent Senator for Washington and particularly our area," said McCabe, who is a past campaign coordinator for JACKSON in Asotin County.

"I think the State of Washington is really losing a fine citizen and excellent Senator. He really stuck up for the people of Washington. He's going to be really missed," McCabe said.

"Oh my," said Harold Vaughn of Clarkston, upon learning of JACKSON's death at a late hour. "He was a guest in my home. He was a good friend, a good Senator.

"I know we've lost a great man," said Vaughn, who also was a campaign coordinator for JACKSON in Asotin County. "He did a lot of great things for the State of Washington * * *. We'll miss him greatly."

Charles (Pete) Collins, chairman of the Asotin County Democratic Party, was awakened by the news late Thursday.

"I think he was just a terrific help to eastern Washington," Collins said. "He always had our concerns in mind. He always came to Asotin County.



[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, Sept. 4, 1983]

A SENATOR WHO KNEW HIMSELF

The Pacific Northwest has lost one of its great public men, Senator HENRY Mr. "Scoop" JACKSON of Washington.

He will be missed not only because of his effectiveness in office but because of the confidence he instilled in the continuing possibility of government controlled by good men.

HENRY JACKSON was a good man, and everyone from his Senate colleagues to his hometown neighbors in Everett, Wash., knew it. That doesn't mean just that he didn't smoke or drink or play around with nubile political groupies—although it is true, he did none of those things. In the larger sense, it means

that while he did an important job extremely well he also retained a strong sense of himself as an individual, not an image. He was his own man, and for all of his prominence, was in many ways a very private person.

The son of Norwegian immigrants, JACKSON grew up poor but made good quickly by way of public education (the University of Washington Law School) and elective office. He was a county prosecutor at 26, a U.S. Representative at 28, a U.S. Senator at 40. He established what must be a Northwest record for rolling up majorities at election time. It was always a little ironic that such a nice fellow would so thoroughly demolish his opponents at the polls.

In Congress, JACKSON stubbornly followed his own lead on all important issues. He delighted liberals with his stands on labor and welfare policies, civil rights and—before it became a motherhood issue—environmentalism. But he offended many of those same people with his adamant denunciations of the Soviet Union and his strong defense of a strong national defense.

JACKSON was, in truth, an unexciting speaker who was always too big on substance and too short on natural charm to ever have a chance for the Presidency, although he tried for Democratic nomination twice, in 1972 and 1976.

In 1980, the authoritative Almanac of American Politics paid him this compliment: "At the peak of his Washington career is Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON. He has been disappointed in Presidential elections: he was an also ran in 1972 and his seemingly strong campaign collapsed in 1976. But he remains a hard-working legislator with mastery over many subjects—a living refutation of the charge that the Senate no longer has leaders of broad interests and deep knowledge and experience."

One of the funniest moments of his career came in November 1980, when the American Security Council, a right-wing outfit that would like to reserve the whole Federal budget for the Pentagon, gave JACKSON a 70-percent negative rating on his voting record.

When he heard that, the Senator told a gathering of news people, "Here I am, I've been a warmonger for 30 years. I am the Senator from Boeing and the chairman of the military-industrial complex. And now I've become a security risk."

When the laughter died down, he added a serious, somewhat weary, afterthought: "I'm really fed up with this one-issue business * * *. One issue, one issue—my Lord, I wish the world were that simple."

That was HENRY JACKSON. He had the maturity, confidence, dignity and integrity we'd love to see in every person sent to represent the people in Washington, D.C., but which are found to this degree in few.



[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune, Sept. 3, 1983]

ANOTHER POLITICAL GIANT HAS FALLEN

One of the most rewarding tasks that can fall to a Governor is the opportunity to fill a vacancy in the U.S. Senate. But there can be no pleasure for John Spellman in contemplating the replacement of Washington Senator HENRY JACKSON, who died unexpectedly Thursday night.

With JACKSON's death Washington has lost the second of its politically powerful Senators. Warren Magnuson, although old and ailing, was first in seniority in the Senate when he was defeated 3 years ago by Slade Gorton, and a figure of great influence. JACKSON was third in seniority, a two-time candidate for his party's nomination for the Presidency and an effective and respected lawmaker. Sometimes known as the Senator from Boeing, because of his skill at snagging defense contracts for Washington's largest employer, JACKSON was also a vigorous advocate of social programs. He was a conservative in matters of defense and a liberal on social issues. He became such a prominent figure in that context that he gave his name to people of similar ideological makeup. When you wanted someone like him to fill a candidate slot, you sent for "a Jackson Democrat."

JACKSON was effective for Washington in the Senate not only by virtue of his seniority but because he was a man of unshakable integrity. After 31 years in that steamy caldron of ambition and one-upmanship, he had collected a host of adversaries but no enemies.

Washington has been lucky to have him all these years, just as it was lucky to have Warren Magnuson. But public servants, like machines, wear out and have to be replaced. HENRY JACKSON suddenly is gone and the Governor soon must seek a successor. No one ought to envy him that task.—L.H.

Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *September 12, 1983.*

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I will offer a resolution, and I intend to offer a similar resolution in the House tomorrow, at which time a number of Members will wish to express their sympathy and condolences on the death of the distinguished Senator.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 306) on the death of the late Honorable Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 306

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON, a Senator of the United States from the State of Washington.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That when the House adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Chair wishes to lay before the House a message from the Senate on Senate Resolution 209:

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agreed to the following resolution:

SENATE RESOLUTION 209

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON, late a Senator from the State of Washington.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate recesses today, it recess as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Kildee). The Chair desires to announce that the Speaker appointed on September 6, 1983, the following Members to attend the funeral of the late Senator HENRY M. JACKSON:

Mr. Foley of Washington; Mr. Pritchard of Washington; Mr. Bonker of Washington; Mr. Dicks of Washington; Mr. Lowry of Washington; Mr. Swift of Washington; Mr. Morrison of Washington; and Mr. Chandler of Washington.

Without objection, the Speaker's appointment is ratified.

There was no objection.

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost a truly great leader. Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON was a warm and wise man, whose clear voice and sound judgment inspired the deep respect of his colleagues across the political spectrum. I personally feel a deep sense of loss at his death, and shall miss his counsel and his friendship. America and the free world will miss his vision and dedication to democratic values; but his ideas and example will live forever.

Senator JACKSON's over 40 years of distinguished service in Congress spanned a proud and enormously challenging epoch in American history. During his service in Washington, he was called upon to take a stand on an amazing range of difficult and momentous issues, from the U.S. participation in World War II, the Yalta agreements, the Berlin Wall and the dawn of the cold war, to the Korean war, to the first manned space flights and Neil Armstrong's walk on the Moon, to the Cuban missile crisis and the tragic assassination of President Kennedy, to the war in Vietnam and the social upheaval at home, to the seizure of the *Pueblo* and the *Mayaguez*, to the celebration of our bicentennial, and the demise of détente.

In crises and triumphs, Senator JACKSON was a leading spokesman for all that is best in America's traditions and beliefs in individual rights and justice and freedom. During his tenure on the Armed Services Committee, he was an outspoken advocate of a strong defense and an assertive foreign policy. His deep commitment to the cause of human rights en-

gendered the birth of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, to promote freedom of emigration from the Soviet Union. The historic Jackson amendment to the SALT I accords charted and remains a seminal tenet in U.S. arms control policy. Most recently, his sponsorship of a bipartisan commission on Central America has focused national attention on America's vital interests in that region. For all this and more, SCOOP earned the enduring gratitude of his countrymen.

It would be a fitting tribute for a grateful Nation to honor HENRY JACKSON's memory by designating the President's Commission on Central America the Jackson Commission, after the man who first conceived and fought for its creation. I have written to President Reagan, suggesting this salute to a great and respected American.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness and a profound sense of loss that we mourn the passing of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. He was a plain-spoken man whose compassion, integrity, and steadfast dedication to his responsibilities as a legislator served the broad interests of the American people well throughout his distinguished career in the Congress.

He leaves behind two distinctive yet plainly appropriate monuments to his contributions to the welfare of his fellow men. The first of these is an array of significant and important statutory provisions on freedom of emigration, national security, energy, and environment of which he was the guiding spirit. Second, he has left us the very considerable light of his example to help guide our footsteps along the often daunting and arduous paths of duty which democracy requires of us. As the Washington Post so appropriately editorialized, "He leaves behind an example of honorable and effective public service, responsive to events but informed by conviction and steadiness of purpose."

President John Kennedy once enunciated four questions by which the "high court of history" would eventually judge each of us for our conduct in public office. "First, were we truly men of courage? Second, were we truly men of judgment? Third, were we truly men of integrity? Finally, were we truly men of dedication?" HENRY JACKSON's career, and indeed his life, was a straightforward and eloquent affirmative to each of those fundamental questions.

All of us, in the executive branch as well as the Congress, who had the privilege of working with HENRY JACKSON and the benefit of his vision and his candid and thoughtful approach to the important problems of our time, were enriched by that experience. He will be sorely missed.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 306 and House Resolution 307 of the 98th Congress, the House stands adjourned, in the memory of the late Senator HENRY M. JACKSON and the late Representative Larry McDonald, until 10 a.m. tomorrow, Tuesday, September 13, 1983.

Thereupon (at 3 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.), pursuant to House Resolution 306 and House Resolution 307, and under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, September 13, 1983, at 10 a.m.

TUESDAY, *September 13, 1983.*

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, our Nation, this Congress, and the people of the State of Washington have lost a great leader with the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON on September 1. SCOOP JACKSON was a man of principle and a man of vision. Many of us in the Congress knew him through his views on national defense and on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. He was truly a realist in the sense that he was deeply concerned about maintaining the balance of power between the world's two superpowers. But SCOOP JACKSON was also aware of the need to protect Government programs that aid the less fortunate, the elderly, and the unemployed. Clearly he favored a strong America, but his vision of a strong Nation was one which emphasized being militarily

strong as well as economically strong. A nation adequately armed, with full employment and a strong economy is best able to withstand challenges from the outside, and SCOOP JACKSON's legislative legacy clearly reflects that total context of a strong America. But SCOOP JACKSON was more than the national leader we saw here in the Nation's Capital. At 3 days of services for him last week in his hometown of Everett, Wash., people came from near and far to mourn a good friend; one who always stopped on a streetcorner to offer a kind word; who never failed to mark a birthday, an anniversary, or send a get-well card to a list of personal friends numbering in the thousands. He was a neighbor, a good friend, and "our Senator" for all of us in Washington State, and we will miss him very much.

His death also represents the loss of more than 30 years of experience and seniority in the U.S. Senate, which will be impossible to restore soon. It is truly a loss for the people of Washington State, but it is also something that affects me very deeply. From the time when I was a Senate staff member 15 years ago, SCOOP was always there to offer counsel and advice; and most recently to offer his strong support for legislative measures we joined forces on in Congress. No one can replace the influence that SCOOP JACKSON had on me, and certainly no one can replace his leadership of the Washington congressional delegation.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Mr. Speaker, last week our State and our Nation lost a great public servant. HENRY M. JACKSON, who we all thought was indestructible and who had served this Nation for 44 years here in the Capitol, passed away. He was known as "SCOOP" to everyone in our State and to everyone in the Capitol. A magnificent public servant, who had strong views, and always stayed very loyal to his views, no matter how the wind was blowing in a particular year for political viewpoints.

SCOOP JACKSON had friends all over our State. He was the son of a Norwegian family. He came from a mill town—Everett. He is mourned by all our State, those who voted for him and those who voted against him. And I can tell you as a politician there were not many who voted against SCOOP.

His service in the House and in the Senate has left an imprint on America, an imprint that will be felt down through the years. He was sensitive and caring, not only in public life,

but also as a family man. I know that the delegation from the State of Washington and all other Members in Congress wish his wife, Helen, son Peter, and his daughter, Anna Marie, our heartfelt sympathy in this very difficult time.

America will miss SCOOP JACKSON.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I take the well to join my colleagues from Washington and others in expressing my deep sorrow at the death on September 1 of this year of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. Senator JACKSON served for over four decades in the Congress of the United States, six terms in the House and the remainder of his service in the U.S. Senate. He was an extraordinary man, extraordinary in his commitment to those values which brought him to the Congress and which he expressed so cogently and eloquently at every level of our politics, including the national level where he sought twice the Democratic nomination for President.

In a time when one colleague said that some of us in the Congress have short attention spans, Senator JACKSON maintained a steadfast and coherent expression of belief in a strong national defense and in a secure America, but not just in military terms. He never lost his commitment to the view that the Government can and should be a consistent instrument for the improvement of the life of all Americans and particularly for those who need that support and concern.

Senator JACKSON was to those who have had the honor to serve on his staff—as I did—a teacher, a teacher mostly by example, a teacher whose steadfastness, whose honesty, and whose integrity are a model for everyone who engages in public service.

In the words of George Will, the national columnist and a friend of Senator JACKSON, “He was the finest public servant I have known.” This is the judgment that many will make. It is a judgment that I share. I extend, as all of us I know wish to do, our condolences to Mrs. Jackson and to Peter and Anna Marie.

Last night the House adjourned out of respect for Senator JACKSON, after enacting a resolution of condolence which parallels that expressed by the U.S. Senate.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, first let me state that I had the privilege of serving with Senator JACKSON in the 81st Congress. I have never served with a more capable and able gen-

tleman than Senator JACKSON. He took the lead back in 1949 in the enactment of the Marshall plan, where we had destroyed much of Central Europe by our own bombers, to give those countries economic assistance.

He was a leader all through that session until he went to the Senate. He was one of the most pleasant gentlemen that anyone ever served with. He was truthful. One could go to him and talk to him and he would tell you his views very frankly and forthrightly.

I know not only the State of Washington but the whole United States will miss this great statesman.

Mr. LOWRY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, of course the whole Nation and the whole world as well as the State of Washington has lost a great leader in HENRY JACKSON. The services for Senator JACKSON showed just how much this man meant to everyone. The dean of our delegation, Tom Foley, gave one of the finest talks I have ever heard in my life, and so did our colleague, Al Swift, representing the Second Congressional District, from Everett, from where SCOOP JACKSON had started and put in so much of his time. Everyone in this House would have been very proud to have seen the job done by them.

SCOOP JACKSON's two children, 17-year-old Peter, and 22-year-old Anna Marie, really were the testimony to what a man as an individual SCOOP JACKSON was. If you could have seen the way they stood and talked about what their father had meant to them as a father, it really lets you know the quality of the human being we have lost.

It was 1970, when I was a young Democrat, that SCOOP JACKSON first helped me. There is not actually a young Democrat in the State of Washington who could not stand up and tell that same story. As Ted Kennedy said at the eulogy in Everett, Wash., SCOOP JACKSON was for a strong national security but he never once wanted to pay for it out of the mouths of hungry children or out of costing unemployed chances to get jobs or out of education programs. He was for a strong America in all ways.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of Washington and of this Nation were shocked and saddened over the death, September 1, of the distinguished senior Senator from

Washington, HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON. For those of us who had the dual honor of serving in Congress with "SCOOP" and to have been friends, the news of his death was even more devastating.

SCOOP JACKSON epitomized what a dedicated public servant was supposed to be. For a total of 43 productive years, HENRY JACKSON graced the Halls of Congress with his presence and lent the House and the Senate the benefit of his wisdom, compassion, and expertise. He served a total of 12 years in the House and 31 more in the Senate.

SCOOP JACKSON's influence in American legislative and foreign policy was immense and diversified. He was best known as a champion of a strong national defense and an especially ardent foe of the Soviet Union. History will record with appropriate respect that HENRY JACKSON's last public appearance and action was to conduct a press conference to condemn the Soviet Union for their barbarism in shooting down the Korean airliner killing its 269 passengers.

Yet SCOOP JACKSON did not feel constrained to limit his expertise or talents and he made his mark in other distinct areas as well. He was a staunch supporter of the State of Israel and was one of the few Members of Congress who served during the entire 35-year history of the modern State of Israel. His passing was especially mourned in the Jewish community, who viewed Senator JACKSON as a true and loyal friend, not only for his support of Israel but also for his coauthorship of a landmark amendment linking preferential trade between the United States and the Soviet Union to the Soviets permitting more of their Jewish citizens to emigrate. This was viewed as precedent-setting legislation in that it put the United States squarely in the position of defending the basic human right of emigration for Soviet Jews.

SCOOP JACKSON was a man of vision. In his capacity as chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he was one of the first people in Congress to urge that we develop a national energy policy based on domestic production and conservation. No man worked harder on this important cause than SCOOP JACKSON, and the extent to which this Nation has reduced its reliance on foreign energy through effective conservation is owed in large part to HENRY JACKSON.

As one reviews the legislative accomplishments of HENRY JACKSON in his more than four decades in Congress, one simply stands in awe. It would do him injustice to speak only of the quantity of these accomplishments. It would be far more appropriate to evaluate them according to how much they improved the quality of life for people in this Nation. All segments of our society from the farmer to the senior citizen, from the handicapped child to the U.S. serviceman abroad, from the members of minority groups to women and children, SCOOP JACKSON through his work improved the quality of life for all in this Nation and many in the world.

One recalls Senator JACKSON's attempts in both 1972 and 1976 to capture the nomination of the Democratic Party to be President of the United States. I have special and fond memories for I was a Jackson delegate and helped lead what was a most successful campaign by SCOOP JACKSON in my home State of New York. I said then and I felt throughout his life that SCOOP JACKSON would have made a fine President and the American political process was greatly enhanced simply by his involving himself in two Presidential campaigns.

While SCOOP JACKSON may have had his dream of being President elude his grasp, his influence among the Presidents in his lifetime was enormous. Senator JACKSON could be counted on to provide good solid counsel on important matters related to national security and knew when not to invoke partisanship. What better tribute could be paid to Senator JACKSON than the words of the President both during his press conference as he left California for Washington on September 1 or during his nationally televised speech of September 6?

The Nation has been deprived of one of its true legends with the death of HENRY JACKSON. He was a man who wanted to be measured on his accomplishments, not his attempts. He was a man who demonstrated tremendous abilities and energies for those causes that he believed in. To have SCOOP JACKSON in your corner gave you a decided edge in any policy issue.

It seems almost an impossible challenge to pay tribute to a man who did as much and as well as HENRY JACKSON conducted his life. However, all who had the benefit of knowing and working with SCOOP want to try. Perhaps the best tribute we can pay to SCOOP is to try and advance those issues which he

championed so that his work was not in vain. Perhaps the best tribute we can pay to SCOOP JACKSON is to try and maintain the highest standards of integrity and purpose in our work in the Congress. In this way, we can show history of the good example which SCOOP JACKSON set for the 535 Members of the House and Senate.

The people of Everett, Wash., turned out in tremendous numbers to pay their last respects to their native son HENRY JACKSON, born there on May 31, 1912. They came to pay their respects to a man who had been a law student at the University of Washington, who was elected prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County, and of course served them so ably in the House and Senate.

To his widow, Helen, and his children, Anna Marie and Peter Hardin, I convey my profound condolences and hope they are able to find solace during this time of grief from all that HENRY JACKSON did for his fellow man and woman in the United States. History will treat him with the highest amount of respect and his legacy of service, commitment, and compassion will endure for years to come.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON is a source of great personal sorrow to me. SCOOP and I have worked together in the Congress for nearly 40 years. It was truly an honor to be associated with such a great patriot. He was a true statesman. He always had the national interest in mind. At great personal sacrifice he fought long and hard for the welfare and security of every individual and faction in this great Nation of ours. All of us owe a debt of gratitude for what he did in his illustrious career of service to his country.

SCOOP and I worked very closely together on matters of national security. One particular area we both gave special consideration to was the use of nuclear energy for defense and security purposes. SCOOP was one of the strongest supporters of nuclear propulsion for submarines. I firmly believe that we would not have been able to attain our position of preeminence in the nuclear submarine field without SCOOP's help. I cannot think of a more appropriate recognition of SCOOP's great help in this area than to name our next nuclear attack submarine in his honor. I have accordingly made such a recommendation to the Secretary of the Navy.

We have all lost a great friend and colleague. In his honor we must dedicate ourselves to following through in carrying out the patriotic goals SCOOP worked so hard for. I consider it a privilege to support and further the ideals and goals this great American worked and fought for.

I would also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to SCOOP's family. We all feel deeply about the death of our great friend. How great the sorrow must be for Helen and her family who face such a tragedy in the loss of a husband and father who was so dedicated in their behalf. Our hearts go out to you Helen, Anna Maria, and Peter. May God bless you and console you in this period of great sorrow.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few moments to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington. My expression of sorrow may provide little consolation to his family so soon after his passing. But I do hope that they will come to realize how deeply his loss has been sustained by the good people of Washington State, the Congress, and the Nation.

Senator JACKSON's contributions to American history will long be remembered with admiration and respect. During his 42 years in the U.S. Congress as an elected official, he served the people of his district, his State, and his country with dignity. As a distinguished statesman, and a leader of the Democratic Party, his efforts to address and provide for the needs of the American people and the security of this Nation were recognized across the country and around the world.

It has been a privilege, Mr. Speaker, for me to serve in the U.S. Congress with SCOOP JACKSON. Indeed, one of the most special honors which I have been accorded in 25 years of service in the House is to have served with him on the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, where he had been a member for 10 years.

While Senator JACKSON will long be remembered for his leadership in many other areas of national and local concern, I will best remember him for the key roles which he played on the Board in its efforts to expand and preserve this country's cultural heritage. As a U.S. Senator, and as a Smithsonian regent, SCOOP JACKSON maintained his moral and professional integrity, his devotion to public service, his commitment to

quality education, his love for his family and for this great country.

The untimely death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON has left a void in many lives and institutions. Yet his memory will serve as a vivid reminder of our individual responsibilities to advance and defend those values and principles which we as Americans most cherish.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to a great statesman whose example was an inspiration to us all, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON of Washington.

I was not acquainted with Senator JACKSON personally, but I was well acquainted with SCOOP's reputation as a dedicated, hard-working, effective legislator.

Senator JACKSON's untiring efforts in the U.S. House and then in the Senate—he worked until the very day he died—attest to the devotion and zeal with which this distinguished gentleman served the people of Washington and this country.

Mr. FOLEY. Madam Speaker, on September 1 of this year, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, of the State of Washington, died suddenly in his home city of Everett. He was, in my judgment, one of the most remarkable public servants of our time. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1940 and served until 1952, when he was first elected to the U.S. Senate.

He was until recently the chairman of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources in the Senate, but also held important committee posts on the Committee on Armed Services, the Committee on Government Operations, the Intelligence Committee of the Senate.

His activities, however, in the Congress could not possibly be described by describing his important committee responsibilities. They extended far beyond that to a number of fields from national security to the concerns of the welfare of our senior citizens, to health programs, to education, to the concerns of Government operations and their efficiency, in dozens of fields HENRY JACKSON made an enormous contribution to the welfare of our country and, indeed, to the welfare of the international community.

Mr. STRATTON. Madam Speaker, I just want to commend the gentleman for taking this special order to commemorate

the great services of Senator JACKSON in both the House and the Senate.

I had the privilege of knowing him ever since the year 1941 and I know that the country has lost a great statesman, a great public servant, and I want to join with the gentleman in commemorating the services of Senator JACKSON.

Madam Speaker, the sudden and untimely passing of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON last month was a heavy blow to all of us who have known and admired the late senior Senator from Washington. And more than that, the Nation has lost one of its greatest leaders and one of the most knowledgeable officials in our entire Government.

It was my privilege to have first made the acquaintance of SCOOP JACKSON back in 1941, when SCOOP came to Washington as a freshman Congressman from the State of Washington, a Member of the same class that included such distinguished Members as Hale Boggs, Eddie Hébert, and the present dean of the House Jamie Whitten. At that time I was the secretary to another Member of that freshman class, Thomas H. Eliot of Massachusetts, grandson of the former president of Harvard University, Charles W. Eliot, and also one of the youthful attorneys in the U.S. Department of Labor in the Roosevelt administration, who had a major role in drafting the original Social Security Act in 1935.

Tom Eliot worked closely with SCOOP JACKSON during those exciting days of 1941 in the House, and I had a chance to get to know the new Congressman JACKSON, since I was only 3 years younger than SCOOP.

In 1942 I left Capitol Hill to join the Navy, but when I came back from the Pacific in 1946 I discovered that SCOOP JACKSON was not only still a Member of the House, but had already become one of the most effective and respected Members of the House. He had served briefly in the Army during that period, and by 1946 had become a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, a position that gave SCOOP JACKSON an unvarnished awareness of what nuclear power could do, and also a deep appreciation of how necessary it was to keep this very formidable and awesome power under very strict control, both for military and also for peaceful purposes.

I reestablished my friendship with SCOOP JACKSON after returning to Washington in 1951 when I had been called back

into the Navy with the outbreak of the Korean war. Before long I found that SCOOP was already running for the Senate from the State of Washington, and in 1952 he won that seat in spite of the Eisenhower landslide, a measure of the overwhelming popularity of HENRY JACKSON.

By 1958 I had been elected mayor of my home in Schenectady and SCOOP JACKSON had visited our home on occasions when he visited the Atomic Energy Commission's research facility in Schenectady, the Kaoels Atomic Power Laboratory (KAPL) operated by the General Electric Co. Early that year the incumbent Congressman in our district announced his intention to retire and I began to consider running for the seat, in spite of what appeared to be a heavy Republican enrollment edge for a Democratic candidate to overcome.

By June I had to make a decision on the race. My wife and I were in Washington at a convention and one night we saw the light shining from the Capitol dome that indicated that one House or the other was in session.

We went in and found that the Senate was in late session. We sent in our card and SCOOP JACKSON came out. We chatted for a while, and the result was that Senator JACKSON had convinced me to run and suggested that like him, I should try, if I was elected, for membership on the House Armed Services Committee.

In the years since 1959, when I became a Member of the House, I was proud to work with HENRY JACKSON. I shared his views that one could be a good Democrat, and could also support a strong defense. In 1960, SCOOP became the Democratic National Committee chairman, and we worked together in the successful campaign to elect Jack Kennedy President.

We also cooperated from time to time in legislation to continue the promotion process for Admiral Rickover which Senator JACKSON had initiated. We worked together to promote nuclear power.

In 1973 after the cease-fire in the Yom Kippur war we worked to include a grant program in the House-Senate conference on the defense authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 to help Israel rebuild her military forces damaged by the war. One could go on at great length citing the achievements of Senator JACKSON. He has been one of the giants of Congress. The author of the environmental protection bill; the coauthor

of the Jackson-Vanik amendment on Soviet emigration; the coauthor of the Jackson-Nunn amendment to encourage our NATO allies to make a greater contribution to the common burden.

We fought together to keep Admiral Rickover on duty in 1981. Senator JACKSON also led the drive to expand our relationship with Mainland China in an effort to offset the Soviet Union, and he had just returned from another effort in that direction when he was stricken by his final illness.

Madam Speaker, most of all I am proud to have been a part of Senator JACKSON's 1976 campaign for President. There was no one who was more qualified to be President. There was no one who could have brought our people together than a man who, throughout his whole political life, had the support of Republicans as well as Democrats.

We carried New York State in that primary, but Senator JACKSON went down a week later in the Pennsylvania primary, largely as a result of labor votes, though SCOOP JACKSON was one of labor's strongest friends. How ironic.

How different the history of the last 6 years if Senator JACKSON had been nominated and elected in 1976.

But I am proud to have been a Jackson Democrat, and I feel sure that those of us who believe that better partisanship is not the best way to govern are on the right track. A Democrat I hope my party will return to national leadership in 1984. But the best way to achieve that goal is to follow the example of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. He set the pattern, and now we should follow his example.

Madam Speaker, we have lost a political titan, and we shall long remember him. The Navy submarine to be laid down in Groton, Conn., next week and named the *Henry M. Jackson*, will provide a constant reminder of Senator JACKSON's firm belief in a strong defense.

Mr. FOLEY. Madam Speaker, during the long services of Senator JACKSON, 44 years in the Congress, he displayed a continual concern for certain basic values, for freedom, for the rights of individuals, for what he believed was the positive role of government and the welfare of our fellow citizens, and in particular he was a strong voice for human rights at home and abroad. Whether he was defending the civil rights of Americans in the dark days of the McCarthy period, as a courageous

member of the Senate panel or when he was speaking out on behalf of the oppressed minorities throughout the world, suffering at the hands of totalitarian governments, whether he was speaking on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged in this country or on behalf of individuals who were struggling against tyranny abroad, one of his continued and basic reflections of value was his concern for individual liberty.

He believed very much that a strong national security policy was important to the protection of liberty here at home and abroad. But, to a great extent, I think, his important reputation, his great reputation in the field of national security, often obscured the fact that Senator JACKSON was deeply committed to a country that was secure, not just in military terms, but was secure in a strong educational system, was secure in a balance of rights for all of its citizens, was secure in an opportunity for all of its citizens, was secure in a strong economy, was secure in its tradition of liberty for Americans of every background.

He maintained positions over the years which were often unpopular and he was able to press forward with his views even when they were not in the fashion of the moment. And in doing so, I think, won the respect of those who agreed with them and those who disagreed with them, that he was not subject to being influenced or changed by how agreeable his views were, but whether he thought they were right.

As someone who had the honor in an earlier part of my career to serve on his staff, I must say that those who worked for him, and over the years they became a fairly large number, always came away from that experience with a sense of great privilege in having been able to work with him and to know him. And I think that is a special tribute to anyone in public life to have helped so many people by providing them an opportunity for work and association. And to have done so in a way that leads all of those who have a chance to be a personal associate of his, as a member of the staff, or colleague, to feel privileged and honored by that opportunity.

He will be very much missed. I think sometimes that the dimension of a person's service is not fully appreciated at least except in its absence. And the sudden, untimely and totally surprising death of Senator JACKSON has forced upon all of us who knew him and who worked with him the realization of what a large and important role he played in the affairs of our

country, of our State, and, indeed, as I have said, of the international community.

He was known throughout the world. His influence permeated every administration, I believe very positively. There were many issues on which every American President in recent years needed to know and consider the views of Senator JACKSON. But I think it could also be said that whether an administration was Republican or Democratic, Senator JACKSON was one who very deeply felt the need to put the interests of our country first in an attempt to find a way to work constructively toward the achievement of those values and those goals that he held so dear.

And it is, I know, a fact that recent administrations have, in both Republican and Democratic times, sought his counsel and advice and valued it highly.

We are said to be a nation and an institution that is without heroes any more. It is suggested that there are no truly great figures in the Congress, the House and the Senate, as there once was, and the Sam Rayburns of the House and the Senator Georges and Senator Russells of the Senate have gone. But I think that those of us who knew and who served with HENRY M. JACKSON know that it is not true, that this generation has also produced its great Senators, its great public servants and its great statesman. In any such list, the name of Senator JACKSON will loom very large.

Mr. ANDERSON. Madam Speaker, on September 1, the Senate not only lost one of its greatest leaders but the Nation lost one of its finest citizens. Through his tireless efforts, Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON has left a permanent mark on our history.

SCOOP JACKSON devoted nearly 43 years of his life to Congress, being first elected in 1940 at the age of 28. During those years, he has had a major impact on issues ranging from arms control to the environment. He was a major architect of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 which created the Environmental Protection Agency. He was also a major catalyst in efforts to promote Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union. Along with Senator Charles McC. Mathias, he was the first to urge the President to appoint a commission on Central America. As a recognized authority on defense, he

played an influential role during Senate consideration of the SALT I and SALT II treaties. And the list goes on and on.

During his career, he always put the interests of the country ahead of partisanship. In 1975, he stated:

My ideology is very simple: Let's see what the problem is and what we need to do * * * the main thing is, what are you getting done. I believe in trial and error. If something doesn't work, let's try something else.

His bipartisan spirit in combination with his strong determination to work out solutions to intractable problems made him a powerful and influential force in our Government. His presence will be greatly missed by all.

Mr. KAZEN. Madam Speaker, those of us who were privileged to work with Senator HENRY M. JACKSON over the years feel a great sense of loss. In addition to losing a friend, we have lost a leader, an able, experienced, and dedicated expert in domestic and international affairs.

His death comes at a time when this Nation can ill-afford it, a time of gathering storm clouds around the world and a time of complex problems here at home. But SCOOP JACKSON had faith in our system of Government, and throughout his distinguished career he demonstrated that hard work, dedication, and plain commonsense will solve most problems.

I had the honor of working with him many times in our common areas of interest in interior and armed services matters, and I came to know him as a friend. He was an inspiration to all of us, and his contributions to this Nation cannot be overemphasized, nor will they be forgotten.

He was born in Everett, Wash., and he served in the House of Representatives from 1941 until he was elected to the Senate, where he served for 30 years. Throughout that long period of public service, he never failed to speak out forcefully for what he believed were the best interests of the Nation. He was a compassionate man who stood up for those in need, and he was a patriot who worked tirelessly in support of a strong defense. And he was good at his job.

His influence upon the course of the United States is of historic proportions, and it will continue to be felt in the years ahead.

The whole Nation is better off for his having passed this way.

Madam Speaker, I extend my condolences, joined by my wife Connie, to his lovely widow and his family.

Mr. MORRISON of Washington. Madam Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding as from this side of the aisle I join in this special tribute to the memory of HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON.

Many here who have spoken and who have served in this House have had closer ties through more years than I have been privileged to have with Senator JACKSON, but I would like to, as my addition to this, start with a phone call on election night back in 1980 from my Senator and the years since then, his personal kindness, his offer to help, the help from his staff which he encouraged and, very frankly, some fatherly advice which was most important to me.

I found Senator JACKSON very, very proud of our Washington State delegation, and probably through his leadership through the years, along with Senator Magnuson, we formed a very tight team which certainly paid no attention to some of the partisan wrangles which characterize the congressional process.

"SCOOP" also had a very special touch with all of us as individuals. I recall very fondly—and I have mentioned this to his beautiful and lovely widow Helen—that dinner for the Washington State delegation in their home just a few months ago was most important. We did not know then how important it really was, as time goes by.

I represent in the State of Washington the central portion of the State, a vast rural agricultural area, and I would be remiss if I did not mention that Senator JACKSON's leadership on the Energy and Natural Resources Committees through the years has been absolutely vital for that area, and my constituents want him to be remembered for his contributions to the development of the irrigation potential of that area, flood control, the wilderness in the beautiful Cascade Mountains which he loved so much. The development of the various projects in the Yakima Valley and the Columbia basin have helped feed not only this Nation but this world. It is also an important area for energy, the hydropower potential of the Columbia River, the Bonneville Power Administration, the Northwest Regional Power Act, important to fisheries to so many of our people, and the development of nuclear energy and the Federal facili-

ties at Hanford were all very special projects of his, and they will be part of the recollections that so many of us have of his leadership.

Also in the defense arena, most important to him, the facilities at Hanford, again, part of the peacekeeping efforts of this Nation. One of his most recent tasks was to take on a sticky problem that no one else seemed to want to handle, and that was the final resolution of the question of handling defense wastes at this reservation where the largest reservoir of American defense wastes are stored. And his efforts have come up now with a program which will finally resolve that most difficult problem.

Others have spoken about "SCOOP's" recognition internationally. He seemed to have a very special understanding of people all around the world that he displayed within the State of Washington. He certainly was a source of pride for us for this international leadership, as those of us in Washington State consider our State sort of a jumping off place for the Pacific rim and other places in the world with which we trade.

I feel very strongly that we have lost in the untimely death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON a distinguished leader, a very hard worker, a personal friend and mentor, and that his life and service serves as a standard for all of us. He does live on through his many good works—and through us, inspired by his example.

Mrs. BOGGS. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank him so much for having this beautiful tribute to our good friend, Senator JACKSON.

Senator JACKSON served in the Congress for over 42 years, and throughout that time he was a man for all seasons. My husband Hale came to the Congress in 1941, and from that time forward, "SCOOP" JACKSON was my close friend and my inspirational leader. He, of course, was a person who believed very strongly in the protection of human rights and civil rights. Obviously, he was a person who believed in a strong defense of this country. He was a great environmentalist. He was so precious on the subject of education. But more especially than that, I remember a speech that he made to the Women's National Democratic Club. It was a speech on a call to excellence, excellence across the board, in everything that our country should be interested in, and especially excellence in education.

I believe that "SCOOP" JACKSON lived the kind of life that he called all of us to. There was nothing but excellence in all of his actions, his thoughts, his desires and his accomplishments. And we will all miss him very, very much.

I sometimes wonder what the course of history would have been if HENRY JACKSON had been elected President or if he had accepted the many Cabinet posts that were offered to him throughout the years. I am personally grateful that he did lend his considerable talents to the Democratic Party leadership. But we know that his service in the Congress consistently through the years has made this Nation a better and safe place.

With Helen and the children, I will miss him enormously, and I extend to her and to the children my heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. SWIFT. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman, the dean of the House delegation for calling this special order, the dean of the entire State delegation, not just the House.

Madam Speaker, sometimes I think at times like this we remember some of the smaller things and that sometimes some of the smaller things teach us as much as remembering some of the greater accomplishments.

I am reminded that as a freshman, having just arrived in this town to take a seat in the House that Senator JACKSON at one time held, and going to a dinner which was a recognition dinner for the Senator for his work on behalf of Israel, and feeling honored that he was thoughtful enough to introduce me, as he made his opening remarks in his acceptance speech, as his Congressman.

As he left the dais after the speech, he motioned to Paula, my wife, and I to come, and we did and went out through a service entrance. Here was one of the busiest men in Washington, D.C., both because of his responsibilities but also by his nature who took us out in what amounted to an alley and leaned up against the fender of the car and talked to us for about 20 minutes about how we were settling into Washington, D.C., something about his experiences in the Congress, a very fatherly and a very unhurried discussion from a man who so often seemed to always be in a hurry.

I was, I think, very privileged to be asked by Helen and the family at the memorial service for SCOOP in his hometown of Everett to be one of the speakers, and I think that evening I

tried to look not only at the great things that the Senator had done, but tried to explore what made him great, because perhaps that is the real lesson that a life such as his can teach.

Madam Speaker, I include in the Record at this point the remarks I made on that occasion.

The remarks follow:

EULOGY BY CONGRESSMAN AL SWIFT, SECOND DISTRICT, WASHINGTON, AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON, SEPT. 6, 1983, EVERETT, WASH.

By striving to make casual events seem important, we often cheapen language and thereby make strong words weak. The result is that the diluted words seem inadequate on occasions of true importance, or to describe men of genuine greatness. We all struggle tonight to find the words.

And we strive, as well, to make those words not only honor the life and achievements of the man but to reveal what the heritage of HENRY JACKSON can mean: What we can take with us—more than memory.

In 1952 the yellow billboard with the painting of a young SCOOP proclaimed "HENRY JACKSON will be a great U.S. Senator." It was the best kept campaign promise of this century. But his greatness was of a special kind, rooted not in empty pomp and grand circumstance—but growing out of a great love for people.

Think of it: Senator JACKSON advised Presidents, conferred with the best minds and worked with the most powerful leaders of the world. But we saw him—and frequently—here, at home, dedicating the new YMCA or meeting with local officials or chatting with old friends. He was a busy man certainly, but we, here, were a major part of what he was busy about.

There is always an emotional underpinning to strong motivation and I believe SCOOP's was right here—in this State, in this community and in its people.

Once, my wife and I were a little surprised when the Senator, one of the world's most impatient backseat drivers, directed us—not to the shortest, fastest route from Arlington to Stanwood—but rather on a longer, meandering trip out through Silvana. He talked of the land, the farmers who had built lives on it, of businessmen he'd known, of the dyed-in-the-wool Republican who lived right over there who had voted for him in 1938.

And he had the driver stop by a church standing on a knoll overlooking the farms and he talked about Silvana—quietly, gently—not sentimentally—but with great love.

And it came to us that this was the underlying, driving force that motivated his dedicated career—the love of the land and the people where he had grown up.

But, some might say, everyone comes from somewhere. And most everyone remembers it fondly—with affection. Yet, most also go away and grow away, lose their ties and move on. There are men and women who move in important circles, doers of important things, people of important import—who, if you asked them why they work, would tell you they do it for the people.

People. A faceless abstraction. Just people. People never became abstract to SCOOP because he held on to his touchstone with reality: This State, this community. He did not think in terms of faceless masses—he thought in terms of people whose faces he could see in his mind, in terms of businesses he knew, homes he visited, friends whom he'd talked to just a few days ago in Everett, or minutes ago on the phone. The people Senator JACKSON represented in a lifetime commitment were real people with faces and names and children and successes and sorrows.

You could tell it in the way he talked to people. SCOOP usually didn't give speeches, he talked with you. He'd draw your attention saying, "think of it," and invite your judgment, saying, "don't you agree?"

So here we are trying to make words mean everything we feel and form the lessons of a life that can teach us all important things about caring and commitment.

And we try to make the word "greatness" convey not only the stature of the man in world affairs, but the dimensions of the man. To us his greatness lay in that he let us all be a part of it. He drew his inspiration from the people in his State. He let us know we were a vital part of what he did. The reason we miss him so badly, is that he shared so much. Don't you agree?

Mr. LOWRY of Washington. Madam Speaker, I thank the dean of our delegation for making the time in this House for this tribute to truly one of the great Americans who has lived and who has served this Nation. I am delighted that the comments of our colleague, the gentleman from Washington, Al Swift, at the memorial service for Senator JACKSON will be in the Record because we all felt that those were speaking for all of us just as the comments made by the gentleman in the well at the memorial service were so well said and, we thought, for all of us.

Madam Speaker, I never met a person in the State of Washington who personally knew Senator JACKSON, who had personally had the opportunity to maybe sit and talk with SCOOP JACKSON for a while, who did not like SCOOP JACKSON.

In my days in the Young Democrats, in the days of some very tough times on foreign policy questions in this country that we all know were wrenching this country apart where there were sincere hard feelings on different sides of questions, most of my associates were on the side that was more of the "Get out of Vietnam," and more on that side, and some people who did not have the opportunity to know SCOOP JACKSON perhaps had an impression that was wrong.

But those who had a chance to sit down and talk with SCOOP JACKSON, there is not a one who does not tremendously re-

spect and tremendously honor Senator HENRY JACKSON. That was the quality of human being that he was.

In 1970 I was the president of the State Young Democrats, and it so happened that year there was a Senate race up, which I might point out Senator JACKSON got 89 percent of the vote in, but it was a tough time for Senate races at that time because of the wrenching conflicts going on in this country. As president of the State Young Democrats, probably 80 or 85 or 90 percent of our membership having a different opinion on the Vietnam war than Senator JACKSON was saying at that time, I asked Senator JACKSON if he would come and speak to the Young Democrats' State convention, and he said, "Absolutely, I will."

Senator JACKSON walked into what he knew had to not be the easiest forum, and, of course, he had walked into who knows how many, tens of thousands in his life. He stood up and gave a speech and made a presentation that would make anybody proud. He was there because he cared about what those young people were doing in politics and he was there to encourage them to be in politics. Rather than not go into what had to at that short period of time be a very difficult forum, he eagerly went into that forum because he cared so much about young people, young Democrats, young Independents, young Republicans participating in the political process in this country. I was very grateful for that.

That, of course, is the history of Senator JACKSON. We all know that there was not a young Democrat, including the one standing in the well, who Senator JACKSON was not a tremendous encouragement to and promoter of all of his political life. Many people have had the honor to serve in this Congress, and many people who have had the honor to serve in the Washington State Legislature and on down the line can look at SCOOP JACKSON as a person who encouraged them and helped them to get there.

I think that is just a tribute to a truly fine and great man who we will all miss tremendously. The State of Washington has lost an institution. We all know that. The country and the world has lost one of its great leaders. Perhaps that was shown as well in the tremendous quality that the Senator's two children expressed at the memorial in Everett where they both stood and so well represented what SCOOP JACKSON stood for

in the way they spoke of their father and their experiences with their father, and how much he meant. I think that really reflected what a tremendously great man he was.

Mr. O'NEILL. Madam Speaker, the death of Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON came as a shock to the Nation. We have suffered the loss of a great statesman.

Senator JACKSON served in public office for more than 45 years. He began his political career in 1938 when he was elected as Snohomish County prosecuting attorney at the age of 26. Two years later, in 1940, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served with distinction. This extraordinary man is remembered by several of our present colleagues who served with him here in the House until his election to the U.S. Senate in 1952.

In his first term in the Senate he served on Joseph McCarthy's Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations and he played a key role in the Senate's decision to censure McCarthy. It was the decent, methodical, and incisive manner in which he conducted himself during this delicate period—as a freshman Senator—that became his trademark, winning him the lasting respect of his Senate colleagues.

Throughout his public service, he was led by a loving vision of America which was reflected in the principles and causes he championed. His expertise in defense matters is well known, and his advocacy on behalf of strength in our defense and foreign policy was formidable. He was also a leading spokesperson on behalf of organized labor, the disadvantaged, the environment, energy—the list goes on.

Senator JACKSON's advocacy was always impressive. When he spoke, everyone listened because his mastery of detail, his attention to fact, his straightforward manner, his honor, integrity, and unabashed patriotism insured him a respectful and attentive audience.

As a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and as a candidate for the Presidential nomination, he was one of the great Democrats of our time who made an irreplaceable contribution to his party, as well as to his country.

We are grateful for this great man's life. We are grateful for his accomplishments, his leadership, his wisdom, and guidance.

We are grateful for his accomplishments and leadership; we are grateful for his wisdom and guidance. His life and his service were both magnanimous and monumental.

Millie and I extend our love and heartfelt sympathy to Helen and the children.

Mr. BOLAND. Madam Speaker, even now, 4 weeks after his death, it is hard to believe that Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON is gone.

For many Americans, regardless of political persuasion, SCOOP JACKSON personified the U.S. Senate. For them, as well as for many Members of Congress, the Senate will be a much different place without him. His strength was his constancy, and the manner in which he stuck to his convictions won him the respect of those who agreed with him as well as those who did not. I had the privilege of serving in the House of Representatives throughout SCOOP JACKSON's career in the Senate, and I had an opportunity to work with him and to get to know him. He was a man of decency, dedication, and commonsense who I believe will be regarded by history as one of the finest Senators ever to serve in the Congress of the United States.

Senator JACKSON cared deeply about the security of our country. He was a forceful advocate for a strong national defense and an articulate spokesman for the types of policies that he believed would contribute to that end. SCOOP JACKSON knew, however, that national security meant more than a strong army—that it had a lot to do with the kind of society in which we live. He therefore labored tirelessly to promote social and economic justice both at home and abroad. He championed the cause of human rights before it became politically profitable to do so, and he was recognized around the world as a strong voice for those who suffered religious or political persecution.

As a man of the West, SCOOP JACKSON had a special love for the wonders of nature and a special appreciation for the fragility of our environment. Most of the important environmental legislation of the last 30 years bore his imprint in some fashion. If we have made progress in cleaning up our air and water and exercising a more prudent stewardship over our natural resources, it is in no small measure due to his efforts.

The process of government in our country is a collective one and we have been blessed throughout our history with

strong leaders who have made our democracy function as it was intended to function. SCOOP JACKSON was such a leader. He knew that the strength of our system of government is that no one person was indispensable to its continuation, and yet I very much regret that we will not have the benefit of his counsel as we confront the difficult problems which lie ahead. His death is a very great loss to our country and to the cause of freedom throughout the world.

I want to extend my profound sympathies to Senator JACKSON's wife Helen, and to his children, Anna Marie and Peter. While we cannot lessen their grief, we can let them know that they are not alone in it.

Madam Speaker, the eulogy delivered by George Will at the memorial service for SCOOP JACKSON in Washington, D.C., was a particularly fitting tribute to this remarkable man. I would like to include it at this point in the Record:

HE WAS THE FINEST PUBLIC SERVANT I HAVE EVER KNOWN

(By George F. Will)

Painted on the walls of the Senate reception room are portraits of the five men who were selected by a special committee, a quarter of a century ago, to constitute a kind of Senate hall of fame, the portraits are of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, La Follette, and Taft. There is no more space on the walls of that room, but there is a nonfunctional door. That door should be removed, and the wall filled in, and adorned with a portrait of a sixth Senator. A Senate hall of fame without HENRY MARTIN JACKSON is as unthinkable as Cooperstown without George Herman Ruth.

A silly person once said that only silly persons have heroes. But only exceptionally small persons will not pay homage to the exceptionally large persons among us. Heroes make vivid the values by which we try to live. I say, unabashedly, and with many others: HENRY JACKSON was my hero.

Because he was magnificently uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, dull persons considered him unexciting. But discerning persons by the millions recognized that his kind of character is as exciting as it is rare. Persons who, under the pressure of fashion, are as flexible as fly rods found JACKSON incomprehensible. They came to the absurd conclusion that he had departed from the liberal tradition.

He was a pioneer of environmentalism. He was the preeminent champion of civil rights. He fought for the full domestic agenda and authorized legislation that put teeth into U.S. pronouncements on behalf of Jews and others persecuted by the Soviet regime. And if JACKSON's proposals for substantial force reductions had been adopted, we might have had arms limitation agreements that actually limit arms.

The ironic truth is that JACKSON was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered

from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face toward adversaries.

JACKSON was an anchor against weariness wishful thinking and apostasy in his party, and his country. He nurtured in this Republic something without which no republic can long endure: a sense that problems are tractable. To be in his presence was to experience the wholesome infection of a reviving spirit. This was especially remarkable because he, more than any contemporary, looked unblinkingly at, and spoke uncomfortably about, the terrors of our time. He taught less clear-sighted, less brave persons how to combine realism and serenity.

He missed the ultimate prize of our politics, perhaps because he lacked the crackling temperament that marks persons who burn on the surface with a hard, gemlike flame. If his political metabolism seemed uncommonly calm, that is because he had the patience of a mature politician—a gift of planning, thirst for detail and a sense of ripeness in issues. He had a flame, but he had depth in which he kept it.

In committees and on the Senate floor, he was a cannon loaded to the muzzle with knowledge born of diligence. His unrivaled effectiveness as a rebuke to the less industrious and a refutation of the theory that in politics fancy footwork is necessary and sufficient.

A legislature is a face-to-face society, where character and moral force tell. What JACKSON did in committees and on the floor was awesome. But it was only a small fraction of the work he did during four decades of 18-hour days, working with one Member after another, one Member at a time, building coalitions of commonsense.

I remember a day, nearly a decade ago, when I went panting along in the wake of JACKSON on a campaign swing from Washington to Philadelphia to Shreveport and back. When I was decanted from the little plane after midnight, I was a broken shell of my former self. HENRY JACKSON, twice my age and fresh as a tulip, bounded off into the night.

His legendary energy flowed as much from his spirit as from his physiology. His biography is an essay on the sources of American vitality. He was the son of immigrants, and of the American West. He had the stamina of parents who crossed an ocean and then a continent and he had the optimism of his region.

For longer than I have been alive, Congress has been embellished by his presence. And for longer than I live, public life shall be enriched by the radiating force of his character. Why? Consider.

If you wonder who real leaders are, find out who has real followers. By real followers I mean persons who follow a leader onto a path of life, who adopt careers where they navigate by stars he has taught them to see. The social geology of this city is layer upon layer of persons pulled into public life by the example of lives worth emulating. Today, in numerous public offices, and in law and journalism, there is a thick layer of HENRY JACKSON's men and women.

There are those, and they are legion, who call themselves "Jackson Democrats." I can say with absolute authority that there is such a thing as a "Jackson Republican."

HENRY JACKSON mastered the delicate balance of democracy, the art of being servant to a vast public without being servile to any part of it. He was the finest public servant I have known.

Mr. PRICE. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Washington, the majority whip, for yielding to me.

Madam Speaker, I know that all of my colleagues who were fortunate enough to know Senator JACKSON experienced with me the same feeling of emptiness and a great sense of loss when we heard of his recent untimely death in his home State of Washington.

I joined "SCOOP" JACKSON in the House in the 79th Congress, and we were good friends from that time through all his years in the House and in the Senate.

I shared with HENRY the same sense of concern for the security of our country and, at the same time, the welfare of all the people—particularly the less fortunate among us who were in need of assistance.

Over the years HENRY served with me in a variety of House-Senate responsibilities, including longtime membership on the Joint Atomic Energy Committee where Senator JACKSON was one of the most dedicated, loyal, and responsible members in the illustrious history of that committee.

In addition, HENRY joined us in many, many House-Senate Armed Services Committee conferences over the years and without exception, made invaluable contributions to resolving differences during these often long and tedious sessions.

Indeed, we met in conference just before the August recess and, as usual, SCOOP proved to be extremely well-informed and a valuable negotiator in arriving at a successful conference report. Little did I know that the pleasant personal conversations we had during those sessions would be our last.

Let me repeat, Madam Speaker, that Senator JACKSON was a warm person, and I am proud to say my friend. He was not just a good Senator, he was a great Senator, and I say that in the perspective of my continuous House membership since the 79th Congress. I am confident that history will also record him as one of the greatest.

It is unfortunate for this country that all the people of the United States were denied the opportunity of having him as their President. He was uniquely qualified.

Again, I thank the gentleman for taking this special order and yielding to me. Garry and I pass our personal condolences to his wife Helen and children, Anna Marie and Peter.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Madam Speaker, there are no words to express the impact Senator HENRY JACKSON had on our Nation. There are few who have had a more distinguished career of public service and I can think of no one who was more deeply respected by his colleagues in Congress. His dedication to so many causes and his unbounding energy will be missed by both liberals and conservatives.

Senator JACKSON was at the forefront in the struggle for Soviet emigration. I will never forget the leadership he showed in passing the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment linking U.S. Government loans and credits to Soviet emigration performance.

SCOOP was an expert on national defense issues, a staunch anti-Communist, and an outspoken ally of Israel. He was also known as the "principal architect" of our Nation's energy program. He saw clear signs of the energy crisis in the early 1970's and his response was immediate.

To the many who knew him only by his achievements, he was a strong and fearless soldier of democracy. For those of us who knew him personally, he will be remembered as a kind and caring individual with the greatest degree of decency.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Madam Speaker, one of the strengths of our system of democracy is the fact that although the people may make a mistake once or twice when they elect people to public office, they very seldom make lasting mistakes.

One way of putting it is the way Abraham Lincoln did. You can fool some of the people all of the time; you can fool all of the people some of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.

Another way of putting it is to say that when the people of a State elect and reelect a public servant over a long period of years, it is because they know him as a leader who has earned their trust. For more than 40 years, the people of Washington State elected and reelected our late friend and colleague, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, to the House and then the Senate. They were telling us that they fully understood the character of a man who was one of our great national leaders.

To Members of the Congress, SCOOP JACKSON was a friend, sometimes a teacher, a colleague in many battles, and a legislative leader. To the people of this country, he was something more. He was a national leader in the true sense of the word—a man who led his fellow citizens along roads that will benefit his country.

Senator JACKSON's mark is on our national life in many fields, and it will remain with us for a long time.

Perhaps most of the people outside his home State knew him best as one of this country's leading experts on national defense. We have all heard tributes to his knowledge and judgment in this area many times, and I will not add much to what has been said. But I want to say this. Our Nation is stronger and safer today than it might have been because this Congress, on many occasions, followed Senator JACKSON's advice.

Beyond that, however, Senator JACKSON was a great and wise leader in our efforts to preserve the quality of our environment and in making wise use of our national resources. Those of us who have served on the House Agriculture Committee know how valuable the Senator's contributions were in these fields.

There was another area in which Senator JACKSON's leadership made a great and lasting impact. He was one of those who knew and understood, years ago, that the world's conventional energy supplies were not unlimited. He was among those who awakened the Nation to the impending world energy crisis. We all have a better understanding of this vital area today partly because Senator JACKSON took the lead in helping us to see the facts.

There are many other areas of national policy in which Senator JACKSON was for many years a great leader. He had a profound commitment to the needs of senior citizens, for example, and he was a pioneer in seeking civil liberties for all Americans.

Madam Speaker, what I have said today is not the whole story. Perhaps no one of us here today can tell the whole story of Senator JACKSON's place in congressional and American history. All I can do is to say that SCOOP JACKSON made a great and lasting impact, an impact for good. We mourn his loss, but we are proud to say that we served with a great man and an American leader.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to join today in paying tribute to the late Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. He was surely one of the most respected Members of the Congress and news of his death at home in Everett, Wash., came as a great shock to us all.

The loss of so capable and so energetic a legislator whose Federal service dates back to before the attack on Pearl Harbor is beyond measure. Over 12 years in the House and 31 years in the Senate, "SCOOP" JACKSON left his imprint on policies and events during critical decades of our country's history.

In recent times he was the driving force behind such landmark legislation as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and the 1974 Trade Act clause barring favored-nation status to countries like the Soviet Union with restrictive emigration policies.

Senator JACKSON's low-key style may have frustrated his Presidential ambitions but it endeared him to many and earned him friends and admirers in both political parties. His longstanding concern about the Soviet threat and the need to improve America's defenses caused him to be mentioned for Cabinet positions in both Republican and Democratic administrations. It is somehow fitting that Senator JACKSON spent the final hours of his life speaking out with characteristic firmness to condemn the Soviets for attacking a civilian airliner. It was a message of warning to America that he had delivered so often before in his long career.

It is hard now to imagine the Halls of Congress without the friendly demeanor and thoughtful words of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. My condolences are extended to his wife Helen, their children, and to the people of Washington State SCOOP served so well for so long.

Mr. FUQUA. Madam Speaker, I appreciate this occasion arranged by Congressman Foley and the Washington delegation to pay my respects to the memory of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. SCOOP JACKSON was a remarkable man. Through his service in this Chamber and his many years in the Senate, he has forever left his mark on Congress and our Nation's laws.

He was an honest and honorable man who cared greatly for the process of lawmaking and mastered the processes to aid in passing legislation he felt was right for the country.

I knew SCOOP for many years but best remember our conference committees as I served as chairman of the Science and Technology Committee and he represented the Senate as chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. He always worked long and hard to produce the best possible bill and respected the art of compromise, so long as no principles were violated.

I will miss SCOOP and to his family I extend my heartfelt sympathy. He was a great man.

Mr. RODINO. Madam Speaker, the death of Senator HENRY JACKSON is a tragic loss—for his family, for the Congress of the United States, for the Nation.

He was a great patriot and an exemplary legislator, one who was a dominant figure in the U.S. Senate for more than 30 years.

Some of us first gained our admiration and respect for him during his 12 years of service in this body, beginning in 1941. Throughout his career in the Congress, his courtesy, friendliness, thoughtfulness, and patience earned and kept for him the respect of Republicans and Democrats, northerners and southerners, liberals and conservatives, business and labor, farmers and city folks. He was always the cool voice of reason no matter how heated the debate. It has been said of him that he preferred an arm around a shoulder to the twisting of an arm.

Senator JACKSON was the son of an immigrant Norwegian laborer who went on the counsel with some of the world's most powerful leaders and to advise many of the nine Presidents with whom he served. The Office of the Presidency eluded his grasp, but I believe the imprint he has left on the foreign policy of this Nation may be as great as that of many Presidents.

Senator JACKSON was that rather rare combination of military hawk and social liberal—an outspoken adversary of the Soviet Union and a champion of a strong national defense, but never at the expense of the downtrodden of America. He believed in a strong America but also a just and compassionate America.

He was a staunch advocate of human rights and civil rights. He argued effectively for Jewish homeland and for the right of Jews and other persecuted people to leave the nations that oppressed them. He was always a firm supporter of civil rights and liberties, and his leadership in this field reaches back

beyond the legislation he espoused on behalf of minorities. We shall never forget his performance as a newly elected Senator in the McCarthy era, when public panic and fear were fueled to the point where the reputations of many decent persons were threatened with destruction. Senator JACKSON stood up amid this national frenzy to tell the Nation that the character assassination and scandalmongering that were then ripping the fabric of our society were the real threats to our civil liberties.

From that era until his untimely death Senator JACKSON was recognized as a courageous leader, a distinguished statesman, a great American, a warm and generous person.

He will be greatly missed.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Speaker, the death of HENRY JACKSON means we have lost one of the most effective Senators of this generation.

As Senator JACKSON's counterpart chairman over the years, I had the special privilege to see SCOOP in action, and the pleasure to see his knack of working out compromises. He was always fair and generous with his adversaries.

SCOOP left his mark on our environment—the Alaska lands bill comes immediately to mind—and the Sierra Club honored him for all of his efforts with its highest award.

SCOOP JACKSON was no narrowbased legislator. He was a leader in issues involving defense and the Middle East. The State of Israel remained among his strongest passions. But he never forgot the poor or the elderly and he labored mightily on behalf of civil rights and against discrimination.

SCOOP JACKSON was a giant. We will all be a little poorer without him.

Mr. BENNETT. Madam Speaker, the sudden and tragic death of Senator JACKSON has grieved and shocked all America. He was seemingly in the best of health and was doing his usual magnificent work for our country and mankind, and suddenly he was gone. We all loved him and respected him for his great achievements. I, several times, supported him for the Presidency and think he would have been an excellent President for our country. In every capacity he held, he served America magnificently. I am sure all Americans send his wonderful wife and children our deepest sympathy.

Mr. JONES of Oklahoma. Madam Speaker, it is impossible in one speech or even in a book to adequately account for the outstanding record of public service which HENRY JACKSON compiled over nearly a half a century. There is a deep sense of loss and emptiness which hangs over the U.S. Congress because of Senator JACKSON's death.

HENRY JACKSON seemed always to be at the peak of life throughout his long career in public service. From what I know of his younger years and early days in Congress, he was always mature in his judgment. In his later years right up to his death, he was always youthful and full of vigor, passion, and idealism as he tackled public policy issues.

These tributes will rightly chronicle Senator JACKSON's many accomplishments, his courageous stands for a strong national defense, for a growing economy to provide the dignity of jobs for all Americans, and for his sense of justice and compassion for the minorities and the less advantaged in our midst.

But in a less tangible way he has made an indelible mark on the Government of the United States by the way he lived and conducted himself. His honesty, his courage to take a stand even though it may put him in serious conflict with temporary conventional wisdom, his steadfastness to ideals, and his work-horse style and capacity to press forward for issues in which he believed—these were the traits of HENRY JACKSON. These are the examples to follow for those who want to be the best in public service.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Madam Speaker, the loss of HENRY M. JACKSON, SCOOP to almost everyone, was a great blow to the citizens of Washington State, for he was a politician who was truly respected, who was trusted, who said what he meant and who kept his word. We like to think he represented the best characteristics of the Pacific Northwest, and all of us were proud of SCOOP and proud to be associated with him.

The one-two punch of Magnuson and JACKSON in the Senate, perhaps only equaled by Ruth and Gehrig of the old Yankees, gave Washington State more wallop than any other State in the Union. Someone once referred to them as Mr. Inside and Mr. Outside. Warren Magnuson concentrated on domestic legislation and bringing the State its fair share of Federal revenues, while SCOOP JACKSON gained fame and prestige on the military and international fronts. In truth, SCOOP

was interested in every aspect of legislation and his accomplishments over the years were many and significant, to the point where he became a serious candidate for President of the United States.

All of us from Washington State will miss SCOOP; certainly his colleagues in the Senate will. And we will be joined by millions of others, both here and abroad, who remember SCOOP JACKSON as a man of compassion, of moral strength and courage, of foresight and wisdom.

Mr. BONKER. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the majority whip, Tom Foley; whom I know was a long and very close friend of SCOOP JACKSON's, for requesting this time so we could offer our respects to the late Senator. Senator JACKSON formerly served in the House of Representatives, from 1940 to 1952, when he was elected to the U.S. Senate.

To those of us who knew him, SCOOP JACKSON was an extraordinary, larger-than-life person. His longtime Senate colleague, Warren Magnuson, noted in a recent eulogy that SCOOP JACKSON seemed "indestructible." Together, these two Washington Senators gave our State the kind of representation that was the envy of every Congressman. The "gold dust" twins were powerful. Their vast influence lay as much in their exceptional personal qualities and abilities as it did in their nearly half-century tenure in Congress and the important committees they chaired. For Washington State, the U.S. Senate will not be the same without them. We have just witnessed the passing of an era.

Senator JACKSON was a legend in his own time. His counsel was earnestly sought by Presidents of both parties and leaders around the world. In Beijing the day of his death, the official China Times announced "China loses a dear friend." Wreaths from Israel and other world capitals filled the church sanctuary in Everett the day of his funeral. Leaders of the free world mourned his passing while their counterparts in the Kremlin felt relieved to be rid of their biggest nemesis.

SCOOP JACKSON will be remembered for his expertise in Soviet affairs and strategic policy, but he was also a giant in the most important national and regional issues of our day. He was in the forefront of the environmental movement, and authored major legislation of the 1960's and early 1970's to protect the Nation's air, water, and natural resources. It was

his committee—and his leadership—that dealt effectively with the energy problems that plagued our country in the mid-1970's. He was a proven authority on many subjects.

SCOOP JACKSON was most impressive in how he delivered for the Northwest. Whether it was for dams or dredging, fish hatcheries, the aerospace industry, post office, help for a pensioner, or an immigration case, we could depend on him.

I recall a few months back our frustration with getting the administration to release funds to continue vital dredging around Mount St. Helens. The White House side balked until JACKSON posed the question: "How can I justify not being able to secure funds to protect my constituents from flooding while leading the President's efforts to obtain funding for the MX?" The message got across. The Senator was not being threatening or arrogant. He effectively stated his dilemma.

SCOOP JACKSON personified Americanism.

He was as much at home in the U.S. Capitol as in his hometown of Everett. He was as comfortable talking to corporate leaders as he was in union halls with rank and file workers. I have seen him at it a hundred times and he said pretty much the same thing to both sides. Nobody ever accused JACKSON of hypocrisy. On one occasion, I was amused watching him read the Wall Street Journal as we were driving to a union meeting.

Relate to world leaders he did, but SCOOP really enjoyed talking to senior citizens, kids, the local civic leaders, and others in the community. I marveled at his vivid description of La Center and Naselle, only two of the hundreds of small towns SCOOP knew like his own neighborhood. He would cite names and places in remote areas of the State that would surprise even his close supporters. It seemed at times everyone in the State either knew SCOOP, was a classmate, got a letter from him, or had heard the Senator speak. He touched all of our lives.

SCOOP JACKSON was a Democrat, and a tough partisan at that. But he crossed philosophical lines like few have in our history. At the funeral were the likes of Senators Strom Thurmond and Barry Goldwater, elder conservatives, and Senator Paul Tsongas, the young liberal from Massachusetts. He was called my hero by the conservative columnist George Will; yet his labor voting record, consistently 100 percent, was totally at odds with what Mr. Will believes is best for America.

This seemingly contradictory side of Senator JACKSON was possible because of the universal respect everyone had for the man. His integrity earned him his independence.

Above all, his personal qualities impressed those who knew him.

In 45 years of public service, SCOOP JACKSON had an unblemished record of integrity. There were no gray areas—not in campaign donations or use of campaign funds, questionable votes or office accounts, not at all in his personal life. These days most Senators are supplementing their income with honorara. He averaged \$40,000 a year in speaking fees, but every penny went to a foundation he set up to help needy students. SCOOP was simply incorruptible.

His self-discipline left people around him in despair. SCOOP did not indulge in smoking or drinking, not even coffee. He exercised regularly, went to bed early, read constantly, watched carefully what he ate, treated everyone equally, and worked hard. Few could match his stamina, even those 20 or 30 years his junior. But he did not impose those standards on others.

Another attribute was the Senator's constancy on issues. He did not change his views, and only reluctantly altered his position on an issue when compromise was necessary. You always knew where SCOOP JACKSON stood and there were never surprises. To SCOOP, the Senate was a no-nonsense place where a person's integrity counted.

He genuinely cared about people. At times his staff despaired when their Senator became absorbed in a constituent problem, giving it as much time and effort as he would a major speech or hearing, but that was simply his nature. SCOOP JACKSON was a father figure for his staff and supporters, forever inquiring about their family and health. His humanness was not only personal, but corporate as evidenced by his early and strong support for programs to help the needy. But he also did not excuse or approve of recipients who were not deserving or did not try to help themselves.

On a more personal note, I had my differences with SCOOP. We were at odds on issues, notably defense spending. How insignificant these things seemed last Wednesday. The man's greatness was obvious by those who were at the funeral and the eulogies spoken.

I reflected on my 20-year association with Senator JACKSON and felt something of a political renewal. One could not help but learn a great deal being around SCOOP. I do not think I fully valued the measure of the man when he was with us.

Now that he is gone I know how much SCOOP JACKSON meant to me, to our State, and Nation. He will be missed, probably more than we realize. All Washingtonians can be proud that he served us for so long and so well.

Mr. DICKS. Madam Speaker, as a member of the Washington delegation, and as a close personal friend of the late Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, it is difficult for me to express the loss that I personally feel before this body.

I suppose it is only human to see these events first in a personal light. The loss of SCOOP JACKSON was to me the loss of a family member. It was to me the loss of a mentor who gave me guidance and advice. His loss was to me a very personal loss that has at times left me feeling just a little lonely. While our State and our Nation has lost a great leader, I have lost a great friend.

Beyond the personal dimension, there is the legend of SCOOP. It is said that you cannot be a prophet in your own land and I believe this applied to Senator JACKSON. We in the Nation's Capital knew him for his tireless work, his friendly manner and his tough unyielding commitment on defense and international affairs. SCOOP was at home on the stage of world events. But in his home State of Washington, SCOOP was the fellow who you could turn to with problems great and small. In our State he was seen as the champion of the little guy and the Senator who fought for the best interests of our State.

I think it was a little surprising to the people of our State when they realized that over half the Senate, the Vice President, and assorted representatives of world powers came to Everett, Wash., to pay their last respects to the Senator.

And to the people of Washington State, the measure of SCOOP's greatness is in the number of lives he touched with his work. If every one for whom he did a kindness were to leave a petal on his grave, he would sleep tonight beneath a mountain of flowers.

God bless you SCOOP.

Mr. WINN. Madam Speaker, in remembering the illustrious career of public service by HENRY M. JACKSON of the State of Washington, the tendency is to remark that "they don't make them like that anymore." "They" do, of course, but there are just never quite enough of them.

Our former colleague SCOOP JACKSON was that rare type of individual who consistently performed with honor, integrity, and intelligence throughout this almost 45 years as an elected official. Whether striking a compromise on a controversial piece of legislation or participating in critical hearings on the Armed Services Committee, SCOOP stood for those ideals that all of us in this Chamber strive to exemplify in service to our Nation. He was considered the best that Congress has to offer, one who freshmen Members modeled themselves after, and everyone looked to for leadership and wisdom.

SCOOP never took for granted the privilege of serving as an elected representative and above all, the freedoms provided to Americans as a result of courageous forefathers. Like our forefathers, he worked tirelessly to insure those freedoms. SCOOP was an expert on defense who realized the role a strong U.S. defense plays in preserving and protecting peace and freedom not only in the United States, but worldwide.

Today I wish to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to HENRY M. JACKSON, a man who will be remembered as a true statesman, one who showed wisdom, skill, and vision in conducting our Nation's affairs and treating public issues. We have truly been blessed to have served in Congress with SCOOP and to have benefited from his immense dedication to our Nation and its people.

Mr. ADDABBO. Madam Speaker, 40 years ago, when our country and its allies were immersed in a bitter struggle against the Axis nations, few could foresee the shape a postwar world would assume, or what ideologies would guide it.

At that time of uncertainty, and during the many crises since, the late HENRY M. JACKSON brought wisdom, honesty, and integrity to the leadership of this Nation first as a U.S. Representative, then as a Senator.

His conviction brought a sense of stability to this Nation despite whirlwind change. He experienced, grasped, and acted upon every major issue of our time.

Both in domestic and foreign issues, Senator JACKSON spoke out with a voice of reason that stood firm in the face of changing political climate. He understood the nature of the Soviet Union as it emerged from World War II, and worked to establish a realistic relationship between our two countries. He knew the danger new technologies and chemicals posed to our environment, and struggled to balance economic growth with environmental safety. He recognized shortcomings within the structure of our Government, and worked to investigate and eradicate them.

His strength in the national arena was shaped by his devotion to his family, and to his community. My deepest consolation to all who knew him—the whole Nation mourns the loss of a great friend who exemplified all we have come to hope for in a legislator and statesman. This Congress will sorely miss one of its most respected Members.

Mrs. HOLT. Madam Speaker, all of us might wish that we would be remembered with the great respect that was earned by Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON during his many years of service in the Congress of the United States.

When Senator JACKSON spoke on issues of national security, the country listened and the world listened. All of us knew that his conclusions on policy were a product of sound judgment based on expert knowledge.

He will be remembered as a diligent man, a good man, an honorable man, an authentic patriot who believed in the ideals of our great country and served our Nation well.

His death is a great loss to his constituents, the Nation, and the Congress. I am sure all of us sense this loss.

Mr. HUGHES. Madam Speaker, it is a rare occasion on which Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate agree unanimously. However, on the subject of Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, I believe that all of us share the deep sense of loss which transcends party lines. SCOOP was one of Washington's finest legislators, highly respected both at home and abroad.

SCOOP was first elected to the House in 1940, and never ceased his service to the Nation. Elected to the Senate in 1952, he served in the Congress for over 40 years. Named after SCOOP, the "Jackson Democrat," has become an archetype—

liberal on the homefront, conservative in national defense and foreign affairs. Beginning as a New Deal Democrat under Franklin Roosevelt, SCOOP JACKSON was able to adapt and adjust to changes within the party, while remaining firm in his convictions.

Chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, a frontrunner in defense and energy issues, JACKSON was the main force behind the National Environmental Policy Act, and a principal author of protective environmental legislation. Always a humanitarian and a strong supporter of Israel, JACKSON was responsible for legislation denying the Soviet Union most-favored-nation trade status for refusing to allow its Jewish population to emigrate.

With SCOOP's passing, we have lost a noble friend, and our country has lost a superb legislator.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Madam Speaker, I would like to join in this tribute to Senator HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON. His death was a shock to all of us. For so many years, he has been one of this country's most capable and dedicated leaders. His presence here in Washington will indeed be missed.

I had the opportunity to become better acquainted with Senator JACKSON when we worked together on the Armed Services Conference Committee. He was a steadfast advocate of a strong military defense and worked hard during his years here in Congress to make sure that goal was accomplished.

Senator JACKSON had admirers in both the Democratic and Republican Parties and his advice was sought by conservatives and liberals alike. He was one of the Democratic Party's most effective and knowledgeable leaders. The effects of his work here in Washington will be remembered for many years to come. I am glad I had the opportunity to know and work with this great American.

Mr. ASPIN. Madam Speaker, I know we were all surprised when we heard that SCOOP JACKSON had passed away. He has been around the institution of the Congress for so many decades that it is hard to imagine a Congress without him.

I was locked in a room in the Capitol with SCOOP for several days just a few weeks before his death as House and Senate conferees struggled to hammer out a report on this year's defense authorization bill. SCOOP was an active, vocal, and con-

tributing member of that conference. His fund of knowledge and comprehension of how the legislative process works was immense—which is not surprising considering that he first came to the Congress when I was 3 years old.

SCOOP JACKSON was one of the premier legislative craftsmen of American history. This is a little understood skill. While it is the skill most necessary to keep the national policy process running, it is also one that goes largely unrecognized. It does not get you reelected. It does not garner editorial kudos. It is work usually done in those much maligned backrooms. But without men with those backroom skills, our Nation would long ago have ground to a halt.

Regrettably, too many Americans will remember SCOOP JACKSON as a man who sought the Presidency but failed to light any sparks because—as the newspaper stories were wont to say—he lacked charisma. Perhaps he lacked charisma on the stump, though I have never heard his supporters in Washington State say that. But having seen him work a room filled with hard-nosed politicians in the Capitol, merging a dozen differing points of view into one polished legislative package through his powers of logic, personality, and persuasion, I can guarantee you that he did not lack charisma. He had it in spades.

SCOOP, those of us who had the privilege of working with you for all too short a time on this planet will miss you dearly. We will miss your humor, which could cut through a testy atmosphere and relax tensions. We will miss your incisiveness, which could cut away the trivia that all too often clouds public debates. We will miss your inventiveness, which could fine tune a legislative proposal to attract the majority needed to move an idea from concept to statute. But most of all, SCOOP, we will miss you for being you.

Mr. MINETA. Madam Speaker, I rise to join my fellow Members in honoring one of our Nation's most respected, competent and compassionate Senators, the late HENRY M. JACKSON.

Many words have been used to describe the untiring efforts of this man from Washington State who devoted more than four decades of his life to public service. As a Member of this body for 12 years, and a U.S. Senator for the past 31 years, SCOOP JACKSON was never afraid to voice his concern for a

strong defense of this country, and at the same time, he served as a voice for all citizens in need.

SCOOP JACKSON understood that our country's greatness depended upon our ability to support and defend our friends around the globe. In particular, SCOOP helped persuade Americans that U.S. security was vitally linked to the democratic nation of Israel.

SCOOP's vast knowledge and insight also led him to realize the importance of protecting what we have here at home: our people and our environment. And while there were times when SCOOP and I arrived at different conclusions, I always respected his opinion, integrity and judgment.

I learned that SCOOP JACKSON was more than a fine American; he was a sensitive and caring man.

I was personally touched by SCOOP's generosity. When I first ran for the House of Representatives in 1974, it was SCOOP JACKSON who came to San Jose, Calif. to campaign for me. I was honored to have him there, and for the past 9 years, I felt myself fortunate to serve with SCOOP on the Smithsonian Board of Regents and to have SCOOP as a friend in the other Chamber of Congress.

I have benefited from SCOOP JACKSON's wisdom, and I must admit that I am deeply saddened by his passing. The American people have lost one of our finest citizens, but we must be thankful that HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON was able to share with us his understanding, compassion, caring, and friendship.

Mr. HORTON. Madam Speaker, I rise to honor the late Senator from the great State of Washington and my good friend, HENRY JACKSON. I got to know SCOOP well in the over two decades we served together in the Congress. He not only brought intelligence, dedication, and loyalty to the Capitol, but also a great personal warmth and kindness.

SCOOP and I served together on the House-Senate Ad Hoc Committee on Energy. I can tell you that serving with SCOOP was certainly one of the most rewarding experiences of my time in the House. SCOOP's understanding of the vast myriad of complex energy issues and his sensitivities to other committee members' concerns certainly contributed greatly to the committee. He always listened and, even when he had a strong belief, would pay attention to someone with opposing views. SCOOP always approached issues with an open mind.

I also admired SCOOP's ability to deal with issues one by one, and not prematurely pass judgment on any matter. This is particularly true in the area of national security. While he was known as a strong defender of the Pentagon, I can tell you that he was certainly no advocate of giving the Defense Department a blank check. He scrupulously questioned all aspects of defense spending and planning. He wanted to always make sure that America was prepared to defend her freedom. To SCOOP this meant standing by our allies and making sure that American fighting men and women had the very best equipment and training in the world.

One matter I particularly enjoyed joining with SCOOP on was our continuing efforts in support of Adm. Hyman Rickover. Both of us recognized the value of Admiral Rickover to the Nation and worked for his continued service to the country. We both served on the board of the Rickover Foundation.

Nancy and I send our condolences to SCOOP's family. But we also send our gratitude and thanks for a long career of distinguished public service.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Madam Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Honorable HENRY M. (SCOOP) JACKSON, whose untimely death on September 1, has left a void in the public life and leadership of our Nation.

Senator JACKSON was a remarkable man, and one of the Senate's most experienced and effective legislative craftsmen. His passing is a tragic loss for the Congress, and indeed, for all those who have fought relentlessly against the inroads of communism in the free world.

Serving his constituency in Congress for over 40 years, Senator JACKSON began his political career as a tough prosecuting attorney from Snohomish County, Wash., from 1938 to 1940. In 1941, he became a Member of the House of Representatives where he served for six consecutive terms. He enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1943, while retaining his congressional seat, and returned to Washington in early 1944, after President Roosevelt recalled all uniformed Congressmen back to the Capitol.

While serving in the House of Representatives, Senator JACKSON began to build his reputation as a man dedicated to the highest principles and committed to the strongest possible national defense. He was known also as a champion of public

power and atomic energy development, as well as a strong supporter of the working men and women of America.

Senator JACKSON's exemplary accomplishments in the House of Representatives helped to secure his election to the Senate in 1953, where he served the people of the State of Washington with dedication and distinction for more than 30 years. At the time of his death, he was the ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, and a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. In previous years, he was chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, formerly the Interior Committee, and former chairman of the Senate Government Operations Committee and its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. However, a list of principal committee assignments barely reflects the extent of his influence in shaping the policies of our country.

As a staunch protector of the Nation's environment, Senator JACKSON was the principal architect of the Environmental Protection Agency. Also, he was well known for his tireless condemnation of Communist aggression and human rights violations.

Senator JACKSON was a powerful and popular legislative figure, a man of warmth and compassion, who courageously advanced the principles of civil rights and civil liberties. He fought with conviction to better the lives of the oppressed, the downtrodden, and the powerless who could not help themselves. Senator JACKSON's character and career alike were a vindication of democracy in an era marked by new forms of tyranny, political disillusion, single-issue politics, and small-minded partisanship. Not only will he be sorely missed in Congress, but America truly has lost one of its greatest patriots and statesmen.

Madam Speaker, I extend on behalf of Mrs. Annunzio and myself our deepest sympathy to Senator JACKSON's devoted wife, Helen, and to their two children, Anna Marie and Peter.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Speaker, the time we have set aside today to honor one of this Nation's finest public servants—Senator HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON—is especially meaningful to me. As a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I have had the pleasure to serve with the late Senator in conference committees where the House and Senate "worked out the difference."

His untimely death shocked us all, and it robbed us of a friend, a counselor, a leader. His colleagues in the other body have called him a man of high integrity, a consummate compromiser, a friend. We on this side who did have the opportunity to work with him in fashioning public policy can but concur.

We have indeed lost a great statesman and a friend. Today we remember him, but tomorrow we must rise to continue our work. Regrettably it will be without the counsel of a HENRY JACKSON.

One book of western history comes to my mind at this point. It is entitled: "Men To Match My Mountains." In HENRY JACKSON, we just may have had that man to match the western mountains he loved so dearly, as well as the legislative mountains we seek to climb.

Mr. ALBOSTA. Madam Speaker, a recent editorial in the Washington Post was entitled "The Diminished Senate"—alluding, in part, to the passing from Senate ranks of one of that body's giants—HENRY M. JACKSON. While I did not serve in the House with him, nor sit on a committee with him, nor even know him on a personal basis, his was a strong and forceful presence in the corridors of both Chambers. I will feel the loss.

A Jacksonian Democrat. One who presents the might, greatness, and power of this Nation to the rest of the world, while understanding the pain of the poor and championing civil rights for all. This Nation was enriched by more than four decades of selfless public service by the man from Washington State. With his death our Nation is diminished. We will all feel the loss.

Mr. LUNDINE. Madam Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to express my sorrow and the sorrow of the entire Nation over the death of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. In the death of Senator JACKSON we have lost both a great leader and a dear friend. As a dedicated public servant for the majority of his life, SCOOP JACKSON made his contribution to this country as few others have and our Nation will be forever indebted to him.

HENRY JACKSON dedicated his public career and his very life to the ideals of freedom and democracy. To him these ideals

were of the utmost importance and no price was too high to preserve this for our Nation. Because of his deep love for freedom and democracy, SCOOP JACKSON was firmly committed to a strong America to preserve and safeguard the liberties we cherish. Senator JACKSON understood that national security must be the highest priority of our Nation in order to maintain our democracy. His strong opposition to any form of tyranny came from a deep concern that Americans and all peoples of the world experience the fresh air of freedom. HENRY was never afraid to speak out against the forces of oppression throughout the world. His colleagues in the Congress and the people of the Nation came to recognize this in him and respect him for it. While I did not always agree with his views, I was constantly inspired by his dedication to the goals of our country to maintain our principles and defend our ways of freedom. Around the world also, HENRY JACKSON stood as a symbol of our beloved way of life. He was recognized as a statesman of democracy.

To SCOOP JACKSON, government was a dynamic force for change. He firmly believed that government could make a difference in people's lives and he worked hard to bring about changes that would benefit and improve our society. As a legislator, Senator JACKSON was known as a progressive, with the public good ever in mind. He was admired by Members of both parties because of his concern for all of the people, refusing to be dominated by narrow special interests regardless of the possibility of personal benefit. HENRY was a tireless champion of all who needed assistance from the Federal Government. In the Congress, he gained a reputation as one who got things accomplished, not simply one who expressed admirable thoughts in lofty speeches.

HENRY JACKSON had a grand vision of what he believed this country could be. He was committed to expanding opportunity for all Americans. His vision was built on economic growth which every American could share in. To him equality meant the chance for all members of our Nation to partake in the prosperity that our great Nation could generate if we all worked together to make the dream come true.

I had the extraordinary opportunity to meet Senator JACKSON back in 1971. I was involved in a reelection campaign for mayor of Jamestown, N.Y., at the time. Despite a hectic sched-

ule due to his bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Senator JACKSON was good enough to make the trip to help me campaign. His efforts were quite helpful. His warm manner and firm commitment to the principles of the Democratic Party made his trip a crucial asset to my successful campaign. Along with the thrill of meeting such a respected leader, I gained an immediate admiration to a man dedicated to the improvement of government and the benefit of the Nation.

Through his years of dedicated service to America, SCOOP JACKSON has captured the admiration of those who served with him and indeed, all Americans. His ambitious efforts to employ government for the improvement of the people and his unswerving dedication to the ideals of freedom, peace, and democracy serve as an inspiration to those who remain and to future generations. Thank you.

Mr. WAXMAN. Madam Speaker, the death of HENRY M. JACKSON was a stunning loss for all people, but it was an even greater loss for all Americans who cherish their fundamental rights and for the unfortunate Jews of the Soviet Union whose longtime champion he was.

HENRY JACKSON was the uncommon politician whose lengthy career in public life was guided by a consummate intellect, unimpeachable personal integrity, and above all, an obsession with individual liberty.

For decades, most American leaders were insensitive to the peculiar plight of Soviet Jews. It was widely assumed that official Soviet atheism resulted in discrimination of roughly equal intensity against Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Soviet Union. Senator JACKSON was one of the first major figures in American life to recognize that Jews of the Soviet Union were singled out for systematic oppression far beyond that experienced by adherents of other faiths. He swiftly concluded that Jews had little future in the U.S.S.R. He argued that liberty depended on emigration. The Jackson-Mills-Vanik amendment brought the full force of U.S. trade policy to bear on the predicament of Russian Jews.

Senator JACKSON was probably the most effective and forceful friend of Israel in Congress. His support for Israel always demonstrated both a moral commitment to the Jewish homeland, and a superb understanding of the place of the Middle East in world affairs. Israel benefited immeasurably from JACK-

SON's credentials as a foreign policy and defense expert who always saw Israel in the larger context of long-range American interests.

Many have forgotten that it was Senator HENRY M. JACKSON who alerted the Nation to the menace of McCarthyism. He resigned from McCarthy's notorious Permanent Investigations Subcommittee stating in fury that he would not participate in witchhunts. And even though his home State of Washington was far removed from the civil rights struggle in the South in the 1960's, Senator JACKSON set no geographical or political boundaries to his sense of justice.

I have always felt very badly about SCOOP JACKSON's reputation as a cold warrior. He and I often had different ideas about national defense. The intensity of his passionate dislike of communism in general and the Soviet Union in particular often inclined him to give the benefit of the doubt to Pentagon officials, his motives were not predicated on any obsession with raw power, spheres of influence, and clever "realpolitic."

Senator JACKSON was always searching for the leverage to guarantee peace. He felt a deep moral duty to use American power to prevent Soviet totalitarianism from crushing the hopes and aspirations of defenseless people.

Though Senator JACKSON was unsuccessful in his two attempts to win the Presidency, I believe that his accumulated accomplishments over his long and distinguished service equal or surpass those of most Presidents.

Although we may see more glamorous personalities in public life, it will be a long time before anyone will come close to matching the solid and lasting achievements of Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

Mr. CORRADA. Madam Speaker, the people of Puerto Rico join me in paying our respect to a great friend, the late Senator HENRY M. JACKSON.

While I did not always agree with him on every issue, SCOOP JACKSON's door was always open to Island political leaders. He served us, as he served the Nation and his fortunate constituents in the State of Washington, with a steadfast vision of what this country should be: A Nation well armed for national defense but also a country that showed compassion and social justice for the less fortunate in society.

From the moment I first came to the Congress in January 1977, Senator JACKSON was willing to help in lending a hand on legislation of particular interest to the people of Puerto Rico. In 1980 he was instrumental in helping us in the Senate in the passage of a bill recognizing Puerto Rico's jurisdiction over 10.35 miles of submerged lands in our territorial waters. He also supported the extension of the right to vote for the President of the United States to all U.S. citizens, including those residing in Puerto Rico. He played a key role in the controversy involving the use of Culebra by the U.S. Navy and the ultimate withdrawal of the Navy from Culebra.

Senator JACKSON's friendship, commonsense, decency, integrity, and dedication to the well-being of our Nation will be sorely missed by us all. Our thoughts and prayers are with his widow, Helen, and their two children.

Mr. MORRISON of Connecticut. Madam Speaker I join with my colleagues in paying respects to HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON. It is with great admiration that I remember a man whose bold stance in support of human rights manifested itself most effectively through legislation he helped to pass on the Hill.

The Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 was a milestone effort to encourage worldwide respect for the basic human right to emigrate. It proposed that nonmarket economy countries commit themselves to freer emigration policies and practices before being eligible for most-favored-nation treatment and Government credits. As a result, the Soviet Union eventually opened its doors and allowed over 51,000 Jews to emigrate in 1979, a figure all the more remarkable when it is remembered that between 1945 and 1970, only 10,000 Jews were allowed to leave.

Senator JACKSON's sensitivity toward the plight of Jews arose in part from his participation in a congressional pilgrimage to the Buchenwald concentration camp just after the end of the Second World War. The horror he felt over Hitler's cruelty was translated into his staunch defense not only of the Jewish people's right to emigrate from countries hostile to them but also of the creation and preservation of Israel as a distinctly Jewish State. Senator JACKSON called Israel "a modern oasis—a nation of democratic institutions, civil rights, economic opportunity, advanced education, and superb health care."

SCOOP JACKSON's example serves as a reminder to all people who believe that the quest for human rights is futile. His own clear vision of such a possibility is gradually coming into universal focus.

Mr. PENNY. Madam Speaker, 'I join with my colleagues today in paying tribute to the late Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. I did not know Senator JACKSON personally. I met him only once. But I have long admired his dedicated service to his State and to this Nation.

I met Senator JACKSON on a flight to Washington, D.C., about a year ago. At the time, I was in the final weeks of my campaign for Congress and I could not pass by the opportunity to introduce myself to one of the giants in Congress.

Senator JACKSON was very gracious and generous with his time. He spoke of our national economic condition and the mood of the American public. He discussed life in Washington, D.C., and the workings of Congress. He revealed a surprising knowledge of Minnesota politics and the demographic makeup of southeastern Minnesota.

Senator JACKSON was truly a national leader who found time not only for the big issues but for small matters as well. Small matters like spending a little time and sharing a bit of his insight with a young congressional candidate from southeastern Minnesota.

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in paying tribute to one of the real giants of the Congress over the past four decades, Senator HENRY JACKSON.

The untimely death of SCOOP JACKSON has deeply saddened the entire country, I think, and not just the Congress. He was not successful in his efforts to be elected President, because he was not a flashy media-oriented politician, and he felt too strong an obligation to his work in the Senate to campaign for years the way a candidate has needed to in recent years. But there was a reservoir of respect and love for SCOOP JACKSON in this country, the kind which is rarely granted to those who spend their lives working in Congress.

As a Senator, SCOOP JACKSON leaves an enviable record of accomplishment and commitment. He concentrated on certain vital issues, and on those issues, he was usually the most respected voice in the Congress, whether it was defense, the en-

vironment, foreign policy, or energy. While one may not always have agreed with him, one always respected the strength of his viewpoint and the tremendous amount of knowledge and thought that went into forming that view.

Mr. Speaker, the country will sorely miss Senator HENRY JACKSON. Presidents and Congress will have to do without his advice, and the people have lost a great advocate. There is no way of replacing him; we can only hope that those he touched during a lifetime of public service will carry on, using the memory of his commitment and strength as inspiration for their own work.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank our colleague, the gentleman from Washington, Mr. Foley, for having arranged special time for us to pay just tribute to the many achievements and accomplishments of the late Honorable HENRY JACKSON, the distinguished Senator from the State of Washington.

This Congress has lost a great man, one whose concern spanned State borders and party policies, and who leaves behind a legacy that will be difficult to carry on.

Elected to the House of Representatives in 1940, SCOOP JACKSON established himself as a Member devoted to maintaining a vital national security, as well as his commitment to the protection of liberty both at home and abroad. Although often his views did not coincide with the mainstream, those disagreeing unanimously came away from a meeting with HENRY JACKSON respecting him for his views and for his devotion to this country.

In 1952 HENRY JACKSON was elected to the Senate, and with the dozen years of experience gained on the House side, he approached his new position with the same fervor and sense of purpose with which he had served earlier.

Because Senator JACKSON was so involved with foreign policy, I came to know and respect his views when, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I often looked to SCOOP for guidance. A staunch supporter of Israel, his contributions have made lasting impressions on the policy guidelines of this Nation. The Jackson-Vanik amendment, regarding Soviet Jewish emigration, was a bold move at a time when the Soviet Jewry movement was just beginning to gain prominence both here and abroad. Much of the scope of our foreign policy was shaped by the views of Senator JACKSON, and our Nation

owes him a debt of gratitude. His loss is indeed a great one, and he will be sorely missed. I join my colleagues in extending my sincerest condolences to his wife Helen, his family and close friends, and his constituents.

Mrs. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to one of the great men in the history of the U.S. Congress, Senator HENRY JACKSON. His passing leaves a void in this institution and in this Nation.

SCOOP JACKSON left his mark in many areas, most notably in matters concerning the defense of our Nation with less renown but no less accomplishment, in the protection of our country's natural environment. Senator JACKSON will also be remembered as the staunchest and ablest supporter of the State of Israel in the U.S. Congress.

A recent biographical sketch of Senator JACKSON said he counted the enactment of several environmental laws among his proudest achievements. In 1969, he shepherded the National Environmental Policy Act through Congress. This landmark legislation has been the backbone of the environmental protection movement. When my husband, Phillip, wanted to move some of his own environmental legislation through the Senate, the Senator he talked to would be SCOOP JACKSON. Wilderness areas, new parks, laws controlling strip mining, and other land use all owe their existence to the great efforts of the Senator from Washington.

We will all miss HENRY JACKSON. I extend my deep condolences to his wife Helen, and their children.

Mr. RUDD. Mr. Speaker, the men and women who have served our Nation as protectors of America's security and system of law enforcement have long recognized the unfailing dedication of the late Senator HENRY M. JACKSON to these aims.

For 42 years as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate, Senator JACKSON committed himself toward the strengthening of our Nation's defenses, whether through a more advanced military to deter outside aggression or a better equipped and manned domestic security capability.

The Society of Former Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation paid tribute to the many accomplishments of the late Senator HENRY JACKSON, and in doing so adopted a

resolution urging Congress to be guided by the principles and belief in a strong America so well exemplified by our former colleague from the State of Washington.

The society's resolution is hereby included for the Record:

Whereas HENRY M. JACKSON, deceased, served the United States as Member of the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate for 42 years; and

Whereas Senator JACKSON through appointment and service on important Senate committees was exposed to a full knowledge of the need for a strong Nation to deter and discourage threats to its security; and

Whereas Senator JACKSON was also sensitive to domestic problems relating to social, economic, employment, human affairs, and also vitally interested and concerned for intelligence and security needs for the Government; and

Whereas above all other consideration Senator JACKSON was concerned for the total good of the United States and advocated a strong Nation in its total defense, domestic security, and Armed Forces; and

Whereas as a Member of Congress he had by reason of his vision, sound judgment, commitment to principle, integrity, sincerity, and dedication to the best interest of this country earned the respect of congressional colleagues from both major political parties; and

Whereas the Society of Former Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation shared the concerns of Senator JACKSON for the welfare and security of the United States including corrective legislation of the Federal Tort Claims Act: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Society of Former Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation extends to the wife and family of Senator JACKSON deepest sympathy in their loss; be it further

Resolved, That the Society of Former Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation urges the former colleagues of Senator JACKSON to be guided by his counsel and belief dedicated to maintaining a strong Nation ever vigilant for its security and intelligence needs and ever concerned for the welfare of its people; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be directed to the President of the United States and to Congressman Eldon Rudd with the request that this resolution be placed in the Congressional Record.

APPENDIXES

Memorial Services Held in Everett,
Wash., and Washington, D.C., Sept. 6,
1983

MEMORIAL SERVICES HELD IN EVERETT, WASH.

Henry M. Jackson Memorial Service

EVERETT CIVIC AUDITORIUM,

September 6, 1983.

The Reverend James Hervey of the First Presbyterian Church:

Listen for the Word of God. Portions of the First Psalm in common literature.

Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.

And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth its fruit in its season; its leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

The Reverend William Sullivan, president of Seattle University:

Let us bow our heads and call for the name of the Lord.

Lord, our God, Father, as we gather this September evening to memorialize our friend and colleague, Henry Jackson, we call upon your name. We call for the presence of your spirit. We call for your strength and consolation. For Lord, we are at a loss. You, in your mysterious wisdom, have taken from us a man who was a friend, a neighbor, a national leader and world statesman, a servant of the people and of the common good, and we are at a loss.

In our hearts, we echo the words of your apostle. To whom shall we turn, Lord, for you have the words of eternal life. And so in this time of loss and sorrow, we turn to you, loving Father, we pray your blessings upon the Jackson family at this time of their great personal loss. We pray your blessing upon friends and neighbors from near and far. We pray your blessing upon colleagues and companions and upon this State and this land which Senator Jackson loved so and served so well. We pray, Father, your loving and consoling blessing upon us all in this moment of our grief. Amen.

Robert Humphrey:

Good evening to the friends of Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson.

My name is Bob Humphrey.

I'm here by invitation of Brian Corcoran, Henry Jackson's onetime press secretary and longtime friend, to share with you some remembrances of our Scoop over the last 60 years.

I met him in our junior high school in 1925, which is the year that very modern and up-to-date school was opened. Our first summer, Scoop, Ivan Rimstad, and I hiked in the Cascades around Glacier Peak. We had homemade

pack boards constructed of Alaska cedar and made in our manual training class, improvised sleeping bags, and carried our food on our backs. That was really quite a trip for such young boys.

It was here that Scoop first demonstrated his ability to work with people. He always managed to get either Ivan or I to do his chores, getting up, building the fire, making the coffee, mixing the hotcakes.

In fact, his sister Gertrude, who recognized these abilities, had nicknamed him Scoop after a cartoon character that was then in the papers and very good at getting people to do what he wanted.

I think it was also here that he found his continuing love for the mountains and the streams and the wildlife that he consistently fought to protect during his long public life. He was an environmentalist long before it became a fashion.

It is with real thanks to Helen Jackson that we are here tonight. She very graciously recognized that the Presbyterian Church, our church, holds little more than 500 people at the most, and with some 200 seats preempted by questing dignitaries and others taken up by media, secret service and all, that there wouldn't be room for most of us folks from Everett and Snohomish County, and that's why we're here in this auditorium tonight. That's due to Helen's thoughtfulness.

To me it is also quite appropriate that we are just across the street from Everett High School, where Scoop graduated in 1930. This tie to Everett High School was very important to him, and Erna Wahl Miller tells me he worked very hard to attend out reunions to keep old friendships alive and stay in touch with his classmates.

Scoop was a clean, neat, on-time and prepared high school student. That came from his mother, Marine, and his father, Peter, who were very anxious to have their son become a real true-blue American. The teachers liked Scoop, and even in spite of that his classmates bore him goodwill, giving him the very special Hi-Y award and choosing him as commencement speaker.

In college, at the bottom of the Depression, Scoop and I both worked as houseboys, he in his fraternity and I at the Tri Delta sorority. He often told me I had the better job. Needless to say, we both ate well and were able to go right on through college without any pause.

After law school, he passed the bar exam. Scoop entered practice in Everett and he ran for prosecuting attorney, where he was an easy winner. This took him on to the House of Representatives and finally to U.S. Senator. In all the times I knew him, and I guess that's either as long or as well as anyone, I never knew him to take an easy dollar or to sell out his heartfelt convictions for a campaign contribution regardless of its size.

Helen and Scoop bought the old William C. Butler House at 17th and Grand. It belonged to our town's leading banker and one who ruled this town for more than 50 years. While we who were his classmates were always kidding Scoop about making it the western White House, somehow this never happened. People have asked me, "what do you think William C. Butler would think about Henry M. Jackson living in his old house?" And I remind you, Scoop was the Herald paperboy.

Well, Butler and Jackson both had one thing in common. They both gave away a lot of money to help young people in Everett, Butler through the

Butler Trust which he established during his lifetime and Jackson established the Jackson Memorial Trust in memory of his sister Gertrude. This was a well kept secret during Butler's life and was generally not known about Jackson until the Public Disclosure Act was passed. Neither man asked for recognition or praise and you and I can certainly approve of that.

Thank you for letting me participate.

Leave here tonight in peace.

We are all somehow better for having known Scoop.

Dr. Haakon Ragde:

He was first and foremost a husband and father, and all the laws in the world cannot mend a families broken heart. Our prayers tonight go out to the Jackson family in a private and agonizing sorrow for the loss of one so loved. A tragic and untimely loss it is for us all; a loss that has chilled our warm summer and cast a long black shadow of void across the land. He was made by these great virtues: courage, integrity, and faithfulness. Only a big scale can measure his achievements and his unselfish service marked by consistency, strength of a mind which was well trained and disciplined by facts, and a belief that compromise, at least in our present world, was not always the only form of realism. Tonight I would like to share with you some of the memories I have of the person we all affectionately call Scoop.

I first met him at the end of 1965 where I was working as volunteer surgeon in a civilian hospital, a dilapidated structure that was overcrowded, understaffed, ill-equipped, and constantly wanting in supplies. So needless to say, whenever influential people visited, we appealed to them for help. Much was promised but little or nothing ever materialized.

One day while I was performing an operation I was informed that a Senator Jackson would like to speak to me when I finished. He waited outside for more than a half an hour. I was surprised to find him without the usual entourage of aids and photographers. He didn't even resemble what I thought a politician should look like. But I soon discovered a man who was blessed with what I'm persuaded is an uncommon human gift, the power of objective observation. He spent much time with me and asked many pointed questions; most of which were questions which spoke to an intuition deep within me, closely allied to my vocation as a physician. It was my first awareness of the deep human compassion of Henry Jackson. That very day a U.S. Army truck brought us much needed supplies and we had offers of assistance from military physicians. A month later, another distinguished legislator came to see us. Senator Jackson asked him to do so to inquire if we had indeed received assistance. Yes we had, and that assistance helped to save many lives.

We began corresponding, Scoop and I, when I returned stateside. He asked that I visit him in Washington. I lived in New England at the time. Scoop thought me having a Norwegian background that I ought to move out to the State of Washington. He often spoke to me of the land here: of the majestic mountains, the forests, the sea, and "the people" he said "are just the greatest." And when I later moved out here and traveled with Senator Jackson throughout the State, I discovered what he had told me was indeed true. But I also became aware during these travels of his fine-tuned sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of the people he served. He always listened and asked questions and he always wanted to know more, whatever the subject might be:

agriculture, environmental concerns, fire insurance, or sickness. It was all important to him. And you'd be surprised how many people called the Senator; for he was one of the few people who still made housecalls.

His reputation as prosecutor of his county, his first elective office, was one of toughness. Yet the apparent severity he showed toward crime was tempered with human compassion and genuine psychological insight when he dealt with first offenders. "It is easy," he once said to me, "to be on the wrong side of the law. One ought in justice to give first offenders a break. I often just gave them a talking to." You know, I never had to regret one of those decisions.

He spoke to me of when he visited the infamous German concentration camp Buchenwald, in 1945, after the gates were first opened. He witnessed the aftermath of one of the bloodiest acts of pogrom in the history of mankind. It was then and there that the young Congressman from the State of Washington vowed that he would do everything in his power to help the Jews and to prevent another Jewish tragedy. That comment was made in 1945, and that commitment was continued unswervingly until death now took his hand. This personifies Scoop Jackson as we knew him, never shifting or swaying to the winds of public opinion.

He was the steady enemy of all oppression. In a speech in 1976, defending the Jackson amendment that linked trade concessions with foreign countries to freedom of emigration he said: "I remain proud of what we have accomplished. I remain firm in my conviction. I will not retreat. I will not turn my back on those who are struggling to obtain freedom. They had the world to fight and I am proud to fight along side them. Let those who believe that the Soviets will reward weakness and retreat with a generous emigration policy take their case to Moscow and let them visit their labor camps, as well as the Kremlin." He was proud that his was a country in this imperfect world of ours, that stood as a beacon of hope and humanity, of courage and decency of constancy in defense of the helpless and oppressed wherever they be.

We have lost a friend, a great statesman, a man of strength and compassion, a disciplined and intelligent man, not fancy with world of given to theatrical performance, but rather a man with a keen nose for the truth and a proven regard for his fellow human beings. I can think of no more fitting close to my remarks than a quotation from the British historian, Sir Arthur Bryant, "What matters in this world is what men do and are as individuals. It is good and noble individuals who alone can make a good and noble society."

Musical program by the Everett High School District Choir, singing "God of Grace and God of Glory"

Stan Golub:

I've known Scoop for 50 years. We were in law school together. He was a great patriot, an outstanding U.S. Senator, a loving husband and father. There was no arrogance in Scoop's make-up; nor was their any deception. What he said and what he did was what he believed.

A few years ago he received an official invitation from the Russian Government to become a guest of that Government and meet their officials. The invitation was conveyed by Dobrynin. Scoop accepted readily because he felt that whatever he could do to lessen the tension between the superpowers would be very beneficial. Shortly before he was going to leave he called me to tell me

that he intended to see Sakharov, the Russian nuclear physicist, a dissident who had been and was being held in house arrest. He felt that he was obligated to tell the Russians before he left that he intended to visit Sakharov. I suggested he not do so until he was in Moscow, at which time I think they would not have refused to let him see Sakharov. "No," said Scoop. "The honorable thing would be to tell them before I left." Dobrynin said that he would have to get back to Moscow for further instruction. He did get back, and the trip was quote "indefinitely postponed" unquote, which in diplomatic language means canceled. But that was typical of Scoop. As much as he wanted to make that trip, everything had to be above board.

Even Scoop's detractors recognized the integrity and honesty of the man. Henry Kissinger was in Seattle on a speaking engagement at the time Scoop was campaigning in his last reelection campaign. I was introduced to Kissinger as a personal friend of the Senator's and immediately Kissinger said, "I want you to convey a message to Scoop. I want to help him in his campaign, even to the point of raising funds." I expressed some surprise because they were of opposite parties and often opposed on many issues. Kissinger said "the United States needed Scoop in his office." Then he said, "I consider Scoop a national treasure." A national treasure, I like that description of Scoop, for indeed he was a national treasure.

Scoop loved his work. No man could have been more conscientious in performing his responsibilities and duties. He worked many hours a day, but he always found time to help those who needed his help. He gave so much of himself to so many. He cared. He really cared. But I feel had Scoop known he could have prolonged his life by husbanding his strength for years; I feel certain he wouldn't have changed his lifestyle one bit.

And Helen was such a wonderful wife and mother. I know you must have some wonderful memories of your 22 years with Scoop. And Anna Marie and Peter, you have been left a heritage of which you can be mighty proud.

May God cause his countenance to shine upon the Jackson family and give them peace.

Congressman Al Swift:

To make casual events seem important, we often cheapen language and therefore make strong words weak. The result is that the diluted words seem inadequate on occasions of true importance to describe men of genuine greatness. We all struggle tonight to find the words, and we strive as well to make those words not only honor the life and achievements of the man, but to reveal what the heritage of Henry Jackson can mean, what we can take with us more than memory.

In 1952, the yellow billboard with the painting of young Scoop proclaimed, "Henry Jackson will be a great U.S. Senator." It was the best kept campaign promise of this century.

But his greatness was of a special kind, rooted not in empty pomp and grand circumstance, but growing out of a great love for people. Think of it: Senator Jackson advised Presidents, conferred with the best minds and worked with the most powerful leaders of the world, but we saw him, and frequently, here at home, dedicating the new YMCA or meeting with local officials or chatting with old friends. He was a busy man, certainly, but we here were a major part of what he was busy about.

There is always an emotional underpinning to strong motivation, and I believe Scoop's was right here, in this State, in this community, in its people. Once, my wife and I were a little surprised when the Senator, one of the world's most impatient backseat drivers, directed us not to the shortest, fastest route from Arlington to Stanwood but rather on a longer, meandering trip out through Sylvana. He talked of the land, the farmers who had built lives on it, the businessmen he'd known, of the dyed-in-the-wool Republican who lived right there in that house who voted for him in 1938. And he had the driver, Rick Cocker, stop by a church standing on a knoll overlooking the farms, and he talked about Sylvana, quietly, gently, not sentimentally, but with great love and it came to us that this was the underlying, driving force that motivated his dedicated career: the love of the land and the people where he had grown up.

Oh, some might say everyone comes from somewhere and most everyone remembers it fondly, with affection, yet most also go away or grow away, lose their ties and move on. There are men and women who move in important circles, doers, of important things, people of important import, who, if you asked them why they worked, they would tell you they do it for the people. People, a faceless abstraction, just people.

People never became abstract to Scoop because he held onto his touchstone with reality which was this State and this community. He did not think in terms of faceless masses, he thought in terms of people whose faces he could see in his mind, in terms of businesses he knew, homes he visited, friends he'd talked to just a few days ago in Everett, or a few minutes ago on the phone. The people Senator Jackson represented in a lifetime commitment were real people with faces and names, and children, and successes and sorrows.

You could tell it in the way he talked to people. Scoop usually didn't give speeches; he talked with you; he'd draw your attention saying, "Think of it" or invite your judgment saying, "Don't you agree?"

So here we are trying to make the words mean everything we feel and form the lessons of a life that can teach us all important things about caring and commitment and we try to make the word "greatness" convey not only the stature of the man in world affairs, but the dimensions of the man. To us his greatness lay in that he let all of us be a part of it. He drew his inspiration from the people of his State and he let us know we were a vital part of what he did. The reason we miss him so badly is that he shared so much. Don't you agree?

Rabbi Rafael Levine of the Temple de Hirsch—Sinai:

All the eulogies that have been given for Senator Henry Jackson can be summed up in one word: he was a great human being, truly an instrument of God on Earth.

Eternal our God:

In your inscrutable wisdom, you have taken from us our beloved Senator Henry Jackson, so lovingly known to us as Scoop, and with a kiss, took him to yourself into that ineffable peace that passes all human understanding.

Yet even in our grief and sense of immeasurable loss, we are grateful, grateful that your great love had fashioned one so dear as Scoop Jackson and lent him for a time to live and share with us his great qualities of mind and heart and in such magnificent and dedicated service to our country, for all of his adult life—giving unsparingly of himself, his time, his wisdom, his guidance

and his unique capacity for friendship to his colleagues and coworkers in Congress, in which he was so loved and honored and respected as the true statesman that he was.

To us in the State of Washington, he was always our beloved Scoop whose life has been a continual blessing to all whose lives his life touched. He was more than a Representative of Government for us. He was a symbol of America at its very best.

We thank you, God, for memory, which will always treasure Scoop Jackson. Though his physical presence is gone from our midst, in our hearts his creative achievement and his sincere friendship, which so richly blessed our lives, have etched his image ineffaceably that neither death nor time can ever take from us his living presence become so deep a part of us.

For his beloved Helen, and their family, we pray thee, our God, that you give them comfort and strength in this time of their inexpressable bereavement and your loving guidance and care always. Amen.

Musical program by the Everett High School District Choir, singing "This Is My Country"

MEMORIAL SERVICES HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Memorial Service for Senator Henry M. Jackson

NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Washington, D.C., September 6, 1983.

The Reverend Louis H. Evans, Jr.:

Let us hear the good news of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ when he said: I am the resurrection and the life. If any person believes in me, though he or she die that one shall live, for whoever lives and believes in me shall never die. My peace I give to you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world gives do I give unto you, for let not your hearts be troubled, and neither let them be afraid. Shall we pray.

Our gracious God who has loved us with a never-ending love, who canst change the shadow of death into the reality of victory, help us now to take from thine outstretched hand the peace and the comfort which belong to us because thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ, has utterly defeated death and given us a glorious victory over the grave. Lift the veil of darkness, let the light flood in, for this we ask in the name of Jesus Christ, our risen Lord, and as we gather in the honored name of your servant, Henry M. Jackson, we pray that we shall have the same awe in the presence of your majesty, the same hunger and concern for justice designed into your mortal universe, and that selfless humility, striving to bring differing parties into understanding and productive relationships. May we as he, in spite of its failings and shortcomings, express a ceaseless pride and love for this great land, his America, America the beautiful. Amen.

Let us rise and sing Hymn 411.

Congregation singing "America the Beautiful"

Ben Wattenberg:

Scoop liked his own nickname, and had an all-purpose nickname for those around him. Leader, he would say, what's the schedule? Or, Leader, how do we get the votes we need? It was a game we all understood. Scoop's troops knew who their leader was.

After the shock of his death began to wear off, some of us started thinking that there ought to be a memorial for the leader, a monument, a building named after him, something. To be sure, it would be hard to satisfy those who had worked for him and who loved him. Short of renaming the Capitol building itself what could possibly fit his legacy. That is a question yet to be resolved, but as the days have gone on and a deeper understanding of his full and dedicated life has sunk in, I must say that for me, the urgency behind

such a quest for memorialization has diminished. For in an important sense, Scoop already has his memorial.

In the decades that followed World War II, great Americans devoted their lives to securing peace and learning how to make peace from strength, each in their own way; Truman, Acheson, Marshall, Russell, Vinson, Eisenhower, Dulles, Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey, to only begin a very long list of patriots who have passed away. But always, remarkably, from the end of World War II until last Thursday night, that's 38 years, there was Henry Jackson: Jackson on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Jackson on defense, Jackson on NATO, Jackson on the Middle East, Jackson on intelligence, Jackson's powerful hearings on statecraft, Jackson on strategic arms, Jackson on China, Jackson on trade with the Soviets, and most recently Jackson on Central America with what he called a Marshall Plan but was, of course, a Jackson plan.

Day in and day out, decade after decade, Scoop labored in the vineyard of freedom with Presidents and Vice Presidents and prime ministers, with Secretaries of State and Defense, with CIA Directors and admirals and generals, each toiling with vigor during their season in the sun. But always, there was Scoop, not just a season in the sun, but a generation in the sun, two generations in the sun, the young man from Everett who came to participate in the contest for freedom. And human freedom, always a fragile flower, always threatened, survived and in many ways flourished on this planet, during Scoop's years. Think about it for a moment as a totality. Year in and year out, decade after decade, did any man contribute as much toward shaping the policies and the power that kept freedom alive in this perilous era?

So let us not worry too much about a memorial for Henry Martin Jackson. He has one. It's called the free world, and that's not bad for starters.

Scoop died after doing what he did best and what he liked to do most. He had just returned from committing geopolitics in China and just told the world about the Soviets, tasks he relished because they advanced his overriding purpose, the protection and extension of freedom.

So our leader is gone. His tasks are now our tasks and for our children's sake, we can pray that there are those in this church and elsewhere who will pick up the leader's lance. Insofar as that happens, that will be Henry Jackson's ongoing memorial. In that spirit then, we say, "Goodbye, Scoop, you are still our leader."

George Will:

Painted on the walls of the Senate reception room are portraits of five men who were selected by special committee a quarter of a century ago to constitute a kind of Senate hall of fame. The portraits are of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, La Follette, and Taft. There is no more space on the walls of that room, but there is a nonfunctional door. That door should be removed and the wall filled in and adorned with the portrait of a sixth Senator. A Senate hall of fame without Henry Martin Jackson is as unthinkable as Cooperstown without George Herman Ruth.

A silly person once said that only silly persons have heroes. But only exceptionally small persons will not pay homage to the exceptionally large persons among us. Heroes make vivid the values by which we all try to live. I say unabashedly, with many others, Henry Jackson was my hero.

Because he was magnificently uninterested in the cosmetics of politics, some dull persons considered him unexciting, but discerning persons by the millions recognized that his kind of character is as exciting as it is rare.

He was a puzzle to some persons more plastic than he. Some said this man, this champion of civil rights at home and abroad, this pioneering environmentalist, this advocate of arms limitations agreements that might actually limit arms; that he had somehow left the liberal tradition. The ironic truth, of course, is that Jackson was one of those persons—Felix Frankfurter was another—whose constancy was mistaken for change. He never wavered from his party's traditional belief that there is no incompatibility between government with a caring face at home and government with a stern face towards its adversaries.

Jackson was an anchor against weariness, wishful thinking and apostasy in his party and his country. He nurtured in this Republic something without which no republic can long endure: a sense that problems are tractable. To be in his presence was to experience the wholesome infection of a reviving spirit. This is especially remarkable because he, more than any contemporary, looked unblinkingly at and spoke uncomfortably about the terrors of our time. He taught less clear-sighted, less brave persons how to combine realism and serenity.

He missed the ultimate prize of our politics, perhaps he lacked the crackling temperament that marks persons who burn on the surface with a hard, gem-like flame. If his political metabolism seemed uncommonly calm, that is because he had the patience of a mature politician, a gift for planning, a thirst for detail, and a sense of ripeness in issues. He had a flame, but he had a depth in which he kept it.

In committees and on the Senate floor he was a cannon loaded to the muzzle with knowledge born of diligence. His unrivaled effectiveness was a rebuke to the less industrious and a refutation of the theory that in politics, fancy footwork is necessary and sufficient.

A legislature is a face-to-face society where character and moral force tell. What Jackson did in committees and on the floor was awesome, but it was only a small fraction of the work he did during 4 decades of 18-hour days, working with one Member after another, one Member at a time, building coalitions of commonsense.

I remember a day nearly a decade ago when Richard Perle and I went panting along in the wake of Henry Jackson on a campaign swing from Washington to Philadelphia to Shreveport and back. When Richard and I were decanted from the little plane after midnight we were broken shells of our former selves. Henry Jackson, twice our age and fresh as a tulip, bounded off into the night.

His legendary energy flowed as much from his spirit as from his physiology. His biography is an essay on the sources of American vitality. He was the son of immigrants and of the American West. He had the stamina of parents who crossed an ocean and then crossed a continent, and he had the optimism of his region.

For longer than I have been alive, Congress has been embellished by his presence. For longer than I shall live, public life shall be enriched by the radiating force of his character. Why? Consider: if you wonder who real leaders

are, find out who has real followers. By real followers I mean persons who follow a leader onto a path of life, who adopt careers where they navigate by stars he has taught them to see. The social geology of this city is layer upon layer of persons pulled into public life by the example of lives worth emulating. Today, in numerous public offices and in law and in journalism, there is a thick layer of Henry Jackson's men and women. There are those, and there are legions, who call themselves Jackson Democrats. I can say with absolute authority that there is such a thing as a Jackson Republican.

In 1972, a young Jackson Republican who was then working for a Republican Senator, pitched in to help write a speech that was delivered by a labor leader when Henry Jackson's name was placed in nomination at the Democratic Convention. Henry Jackson had a way of bringing folks together.

He mastered most of all the delicate balance of democracy, the art of being a servant to a vast public without being servile to any part of it. He was the finest public servant I have known.

Musical program

Grenville Garside:

Those of us who worked with Scoop over the years find it hard to believe that he is gone. We thought he would live forever, and of course, Scoop did nothing to discourage this thinking. He was proud of his Norwegian ancestry and took pains to remind us that longevity was part of his heritage. And of course, he had the looks, the vitality, and the intellectual curiosity of a man of 50, with a wonderful wife and two lively children to keep him young.

You would think that a man after 45 years in public service would succumb to cynicism and fatigue, but not Scoop. He practiced the art of politics with vigor, enthusiasm, and hope right to the end.

And he was a born politician who thrived on the hurly-burly of public life and loved people. His constituency spread far beyond the borders of Washington State. Five years ago on a freezing February afternoon, I watched him campaign through the Shengli oilfields in China, and I can assure you that had an election been held there that day, he would have been elected to the Central Committee in a landslide.

His life in the Senate seemed at time chaotic and disorganized, but it worked. He was invariably juggling three meetings and two telephones, and the subject matter might range from a new charter for the CIA to someone's missing social security check. He had a personal filing system consisting of dozens of brown manila envelopes which defied repeated attempts at organization. We will never know what vital bits of history disappeared into those envelopes.

He was, some of us thought, almost too accessible to everybody. He had the disconcerting habit of seeking policy advice from people with no known expertise on the subject and his sources of information were legendary. It was a rare moment when you could surprise him with fresh information.

He was always talking to his colleagues, in committee, in the cloakrooms, in Capitol hideaways, on the Senate subway, and this was a crucial element in his success. He had a tremendous ability to work his fellow Senators and he always seemed to know their special concerns and problems and how to accommodate them. Much of his most successful work was carried out in the

Senate gymnasium. It was an ironclad rule that Scoop went to the gym in the late afternoon every day. He went there, I am convinced, for three reasons. First, to get away from us, second, to exercise, and third, and most important, to wheel and deal in the privacy of the Senate steamroom.

We joked with him about his role in the decline of the legislative process, but he left behind a remarkable record of legislative achievement. Scoop's influence on the defense and foreign policy issues of the past 30 years was immeasurable, but his contribution of other areas of national policy will also be long remembered. One thinks, for example, of his leadership in achieving statehood for Alaska and Hawaii in the 1950's, at the time, not a simple matter at all. Or in the 1960's his skill for leadership in securing passage of national wilderness legislation, the Great Redwoods National Park in California and the magnificent Cascades Park in his own home State. And more recently he crafted the compromise which made possible the monumental Alaska Lands Act. No one else had the credibility to do it.

Scoop thought the Government should be more concerned about the impact of its actions on the environment, and so Congress enacted the National Environmental Policy Act, certainly the most important environmental legislation of our time. He thought we ought to have a strategic petroleum reserve to protect our economy from foreign oil embargoes, and Congress acted to create one. He thought we ought to give young people a chance for productive work in our national parks and forests, and so Congress enacted the Youth Conservation Corps to do just that. The list is endless but the point is clear: Scoop's legacy touches our lives in many, many ways. It spans the continent and stretches to the farthest reaches of Alaska and Hawaii. We are all the richer for his creative use of the legislative process.

Emerson wrote that the high prize of life, the crowning fortune of man is to be born with a bias to some pursuit which finds him employment and happiness, whether it be to make baskets or broadswords or canals or statutes or songs. It was Scoop's crowning fortune, and ours, that he was born to the pursuit of politics, a pursuit which found him happiness and fulfillment over a remarkable career in public life. Those of us who had the chance to join him on this happy journey mourn the loss of our leader and our friend.

The Reverend Edward L. R. Elson:

In all the vigor of his youth, Henry Jackson arrived in Washington, in 1941, as a Member of the 77th Congress. Still with the zest of youth, but full of accumulated wisdom, last Thursday he slipped away from the world of sight and sound and vision. He wore his years well indeed. Few would suppose that he had already passed his three-score years and ten, for he seemed to be perpetually young. He was outgoing, extroverted, made friends easily and retained them permanently, and he drew young people to him, encouraging them to become involved in the political process.

Some here tonight, now leaders in our National Government, were given the nudge by Scoop Jackson to candidate for public office. But it was the exhilaration, the energy, the creativity and vision of youth which possessed him, not its immaturity and limited experience, for he was wise, very wise indeed in the ways of the world and in the processes of the U.S. Government.

He understood the forces both demonic and angelic at work in this world which had to be dealt with philosophically, politically, diplomatically and mili-

tarily. He believed deeply and profoundly in America and her role in the world. He asserted the need, the absolute need for ample military power and the stewardship of that power as a necessary undergirding of the diplomatic initiative. He agonized at times over the use of force, that is to say, the moral use of force. To have power and use too much may be immoral. To have power and use too little in the accomplishment of diplomatic policy may be immoral, but to have power and fail to use it for moral ends was the consummate immorality.

He had a passion for social justice and peace. He was in the forefront for civil rights and for the integration of the races into one united American people. He not only condemned segregation and pressed for integrated schools and equal opportunity in education, he sent his children to the public schools of greater Washington.

He was deeply and genuinely religious, a Christian gentleman. He did not parade his piety; he was sure God was to be worshipped and equally sure that God was to be served in daily vocation. There was a naturalness and manliness to his way of living the faith he so strongly believed. He was a member of the First Presbyterian Church in Everett, Wash., and found his spiritual life nourished in this church in the Nation's Capital. Piety and patriotism were synthesized in his makeup. He loved America and he loved God and his coming kingdom. Lustily he would herald "I love thy rocks and rills, thy woods and templed hills, my heart with rapture thrills like that above."

One of the truly great statesmen of our age, he never ceased working for that kingdom, the law of which is love, the ruler of which is the eternal God.

The words of the Apostle Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, Chapter 2, Verse 15, have been rendered in the King James version: He that is spiritual judgeth all things. But Dr. Edgar Goodspeed caught the powerful import of the original language when he translated that passage: The spiritual man is alive to all true values, alive to all true values, alive to humanity, alive to justice, alive to freedom, alive to honor, alive to decency, alive to peace, alive to all true values. That was Scoop Jackson, the spiritual man.

The Reverend Richard C. Halverson:

Let us pray together:

Almighty God, gracious father in heaven, we thank thee for Senator Henry Jackson, for his long years of dedicated public service. We thank thee for his integrity, for his honesty and his selflessness, for his strength and his gentleness, for his courage and his humility. We thank thee on behalf of the numberless peoples in the world who have been and will be liberated because of his idealism and stubborn advocacy of human rights. We thank thee, Lord, for the extraordinary life and service to the Nation and the world of this uncommon man. God of all comfort, mindful of the immeasurable loss of this husband, father, friend and statesman, we remember those who bear it. We commend to thy loving care and comfort Mrs. Jackson. Fill her heart with your peace and strengthen her in the hours of loneliness. Bestow upon his children, Anna Marie and Peter assurance and encouragement. We pray for the multitude of friends whose lives will never be the same because of this friendship. We pray for the State of Washington, the Senate of the United States and the Nation, and for the one who will succeed Senator Jackson in public service. We know he is unique and irreplaceable, but we pray that his successor will be

worthy to follow him, will take seriously the responsibility and will pick up the torch in dedication and humility. In the name of the Redeemer, whose unconditional love and sacrifice are universal and impartial opening the way to eternal life to all who trust him. Amen.

Lane Kirkland:

To say, as many have, that Scoop Jackson was a thoroughly decent man falls far short of the mark. He gave the spirit of human decency a force and a dimension that elevated it as a guiding principle of public as well as private life. That spirit forged the strong bond that existed between Scoop Jackson and the community of working people throughout his career. His record of advocacy and support of measures to enrich the lives of those who draw the water and hew the wood of America was unsurpassed in length, consistency, and product. He was a friend of labor without anxiety, evasion, or ambiguity, and we are both proud and grateful that such a man could be so surely counted upon.

His decency placed him just as steadfastly in the corner of the underdogs of American society, the oppressed of the world, and the wretched of the Earth. He felt as his own the burdens of those who struggle at the margin of life and who yearn for the right to breathe free.

He stood against the bullies who abuse privilege and power here and abroad, whatever their stripe, McCarthyesque, or Stalinoid, tinpot, or totalitarian. He knew that truth and justice do not fall as the rain from heaven nor are revealed to a superior few, but require forceful advocacy for their evolution. He understood that he could give his side his best, untroubled by any concern that fairness to the side of wealth and privilege would suffer from any shortage of eager and talented advocates.

He was a patriot without tears or apology because he prized the humane ideals and values, if not all of the facts or results of American life, and because he knew in his mind and experience that whatever its failings, it is open to democratic change, that there is always another chance. He believed that values so rare and so dear deserve a strong and vigilant defense and so he was unashamedly for their defense. He could never, I am sure, understand why a commitment to the defense of liberal and humane values in a world so largely hostile and dangerous to those values should come to be characterized as conservative, especially at a time when the main thrust of political conservatism in dealing with freedom's adversaries behind a screen of rhetorical indignation seems to be business as usual at the same old stand.

Scoop Jackson was a Senator of the people of the United States of America, and he was on our side, first, last, and always. He took very seriously the central dual obligation imposed upon all in elective office by the Constitution of the United States to provide for the common defense and for the general welfare. He did not believe that one side of that obligation could or should be traded off for or bought at the expense of the other. Any nation that asserts greatness must have shoulders big enough for both burdens, and Scoop Jackson gave his strength to both with equal fidelity, undismayed by fashion or expediency. In so doing he stood for the simple proposition that the greater the burden the more urgent the need that its weight be distributed fairly.

He did not admire tax or budget policies that imposed upon the weakest and the least privileged the major share of the load, while those who have en-

joyed to the fullest the fruits of a free society are exempted from the service of its defense, a sure path not to strength but to division and weakness.

Scoop Jackson's death leaves a large breach in the ramparts of the cause of human freedom, human rights, and human progress. The only real tribute to his memory that he would ask or appreciate is a commitment from those who admired and loved him to do our level best to fill that breach.

On behalf of the American trade union movement, I am grateful for this last opportunity to thank Scoop Jackson for his help to us, for his service to the Nation, and for his devotion and fidelity to the cause of human decency everywhere. To Helen, to Anna Marie and to Peter I can only say further, in the name of labor, that we share your grief and your profound sense of loss at his departure from our company.

Father E. Colin Campbell, S.J.:

A reading from the Holy Gospel according to Matthew:

When Jesus saw the crowd, he went up on the mountainside. After he had sat down, his disciples gathered around him and he began to teach them. How blessed are the poor in spirit, the reign of God is theirs. Blessed too are those who mourn; they shall be consoled. Blessed are the lowly; they shall inherit the land. Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for holiness; they shall have their fill. Blessed are they who show mercy; mercy shall be theirs. Blessed are the single-hearted, for they shall see God. Blessed to the peacemakers; they shall be called sons of God. Blessed are those persecuted for holiness' sake; the reign of God is theirs. Blessed are you when they insult you and persecute you and utter every kind of slander against you because of me; be glad and rejoice, for your reward in heaven is great.

This is the Gospel of our Lord.

Musical Program

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan:

There is an old belief in the Judaic tradition that at any moment in history goodness in the world is preserved by the deeds of 36 just men who do not know that this is the role the Lord has given them. It is a thought to which one returns in these last days, for if it be so, and of course in the large sense it is so, Henry M. Jackson was one of those men. There could be no more telling evidence than that this would never have occurred to him.

He lived in the worst of times, the age of the totalitarian state. It fell to him to tell this to his own people and to the world and he did so full well knowing that there is a cost for such truth-telling.

But he was a Viking also. This mattered to him, not least for the occasions it gave him in the gymnasium to discourse on the lamentable inheritance of the Irish. But he knew the joy of battle. Of all things human, the only emotion he never knew was fear; the only weakness he could never comprehend was the love of ease.

He wanted his country strong because he knew the terrible danger of the age in which we live. Where others lurch from one issue to the other with the attention span of a 5-year-old, he sustained this understanding and this vision through nearly five of the most awful decades in the history of mankind.

He came on to the national scene at the time of Pearl Harbor and the end of American isolation, although not then, not now, not ever perhaps the end

of American innocence. He lived until last Thursday. In his last public act, shaking his fist at what he called the barbarous behavior of the greatest for now of the totalitarian powers.

As no man of his time he understood the need for strength and also the sources of strength. He wanted a just society and because of him the one he leaves behind is far more so than the one into which he was born. He wanted an American example as well as an American presence in the world, and to the extent this is so, much also is owed him.

He was a teacher almost before anything else. The purpose of congressional inquiry, he wrote some two decades ago, was above all an educational one. As long as we govern with the democratic system, he wrote, the test of government is its acceptance by the people. Yet the people cannot intelligently choose what they do not understand, and in his view, the first thing all of us, Senators not least, need to understand is the complexity of things. If every event had the clarity of Pearl Harbor, he continued, policymaking would be much easier than it is, but as the citizens of Troy also discovered, appearances may be deceiving.

He paid a price for insisting that things were not simple, but he knew this. The American people have paid a price for not entirely wishing to hear him, but he forgave all, and why not? It was a life of true greatness.

In one of his books he quotes Robert Lovett, saying, "We could do whatever we have to do in order to survive and to meet any form of economic or political competition we are likely to face. All this we can do with one proviso: we must be willing to do our best." For longer than any man of his age, he did just that. The great heart has died, but we are larger because he lived. All he would ask is that as we think now of all he did, we have in mind things yet to be done. And so, leader, farewell.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy:

Nearly every day this summer, before the Senate went into recess, I was with Scoop Jackson as we debated the issues of national defense on the Armed Services Committee. He was at the height of his purpose and power. None of us, his colleagues, his friends, even imagined on those recent summer days that he was in the twilight of his leadership and his light. Now that this darkness has come, we look through it to his legacy and the light he has left.

In our era of slick images and slack ideas, Scoop Jackson was a real man who never remade himself to political convenience, who knew as much about the substance of policy as any Senator in modern history. He could discuss with equal ease the elements of global strategy and the components of a single-weapon system.

His friend John Kennedy once urged Americans to be defenders of freedom in its hour of maximum danger. Scoop Jackson was, perhaps more than any other person over a longer period of time, a defender of freedom across a generation of maximum danger. He reminded us always as his life recalls to us now, that our defense will depend not only on a strong military, but on a just society. He was an advocate of modern weaponry and greater security, but he never believed that we could or should pay for a missile or a bomber by taking food from a hungry child or hope from a jobless worker. On vote after vote he was there for his beliefs in both defense and domestic policy, despite the trends of the moment or the tides of an election.

Scoop did not wish it this way. He would have preferred to be President, but he would not, he could not be false to his own vision of what was right.

There were those who said Scoop lacked charisma, but he has a special charisma of character. During the fearful reign of intimidation which Joseph McCarthy was fanning the flames of a false red scare, Scoop Jackson had the courage to walk off that committee and to stand up for fundamental civil liberty. He was only a young first-term Senator, but it was the kind of Senator he would always be.

There were others who said Scoop could be stubborn, but I would say that he was steadfast in the great causes which were his abiding concern. There was no greater friend of the labor movement than Scoop Jackson, who never felt the need to redefine his views as a neoliberal or neoconservative or to plead that he too knew what was wrong with the unions. There was no greater friend of Israel than Scoop Jackson, who helped the Jewish people as much as any American ever has to hold their promised land. Some individuals have planted a tree in Israel; Scoop helped to plant that entire nation. And there was no greater friend of the dissident and the dispossessed victims of Soviet tyranny than Scoop Jackson, who heard and heeded the cry of Elena Bonner that her husband Andrei Sakharov and so many other nameless human beings must finally depend on us to defend their human rights.

Some famous words of Shakespeare apply so clearly to Scoop Jackson. "This above all: to thine own self be true, and thou canst not then be false to any man." The same spirit that made Scoop true to himself made him so consistently true to his friends. His ties of affection reached across the political spectrum. George Will always seemed to agree with Scoop on national defense, and Scoop had such good sense that on domestic programs he always seemed to disagree with George.

I first came to know Scoop in the early days of my brother's Presidential campaign when I was traveling across the Western States, and from that moment on, for nearly half of my life, Scoop Jackson was with me and with my family in the best and the darkest times. On that day that Jack died, he was a friend and comforted me, and on more days than I can count, I felt his happy clasp on my shoulder, I saw his crinkled smile, I enjoyed his counsel and his company.

Others will recall him, and history will record him for his significance in his span of national service through the terms of nine Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan. For his service encompassed more than a fifth of the entire existence of this great Republic. We all know that, and honor him for it.

But in this dark time, for his family, when suddenly we must say our farewell, I recall and salute Scoop most of all as among the best of friends.

Musical Program

The Reverend Richard C. Halverson:

On behalf of the family, Mrs. Jackson and Anna Marie and Peter, let me thank you for your presence here this evening, a demonstration of your affection, respect, admiration, and love for the great Senator. And let me thank those who participated, on behalf of the family and the Senate, for eloquence in honoring this public servant. Let us stand together for the benediction.

The Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you. The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon you and give you his peace now and forever. Amen.

Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the
Advancement of Military Medicine

Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *September 27, 1983.*

HENRY M. JACKSON FOUNDATION

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I send to the desk a bill (S. 1894) and ask unanimous consent that it be placed on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Is this the bill that designates the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine as the Henry M. Jackson Foundation?

Mr. STEVENS. It is that bill.

Mr. BYRD. I have no objection.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, Senator Nunn, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services, and all other members of the committee, I am introducing today legislation that will rename the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine for Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington. On May 27, 1983, President Reagan signed into law S. 653 which created the Foundation. That legislation was authored by Senator Jackson, and its purpose was to attract private contributions for the use of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences and for research related to military medicine.

Senator Jackson had written S. 653 to provide that four of the members of the Council of Directors of the Foundation would be the chairman and ranking minority members of the Committees on Armed Services in the House and the Senate. I

personally think that he included this particular provision because he himself was looking forward with great interest to being a member of the Council and to assisting the Foundation in its work. It is noteworthy that this would not have been service in Senator Jackson's official capacity as a U.S. Senator, but would have been an activity in support of a private charitable foundation whose work Senator Jackson wanted to further. I think that it is indicative of the kind of person that Senator Jackson was that he would want to give of his own limited time to assist a worthy cause like this one.

Since Senator Jackson authored the legislation to create the Foundation, I think it would be particularly appropriate that the Foundation be named for him. In this way, there will be a permanent identification of his interest in military medicine and his support for the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences.

Since this measure is cosponsored by all members of the Armed Services Committee, I urge my colleagues to pass this legislation and to send it to the House of Representatives as soon as possible.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I am very pleased to join Senator Tower in introducing on behalf of all of our colleagues on the Armed Services Committee a bill to rename the "Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine" the "Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine."

The Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine is a nonprofit, charitable, educational, and research foundation supporting the purposes of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences. The legislation establishing this Foundation was passed by the Congress earlier this year. This legislation was drafted and introduced by Senator Jackson, and its passage was due in large part to his personal interest and attention.

Senator Jackson approached all his work with a youthful energy, but he had a special intellectual fascination with the field of medicine. Throughout his lifetime, he delighted at advancements in medicine that led to higher quality health care for all Americans. As a legislator, he helped with those advancements. He was proud of his legislation which put the prohibitive cost of kidney dialysis treatment within reach for

all those in need and he continued to receive honors for the improvements in health care that came about as a result of his expansive Indian Health Care Act.

The Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine stands as one of many examples of Senator Jackson's lifelong interest and commitment to medical research and quality health care for Americans in all walks of life. Senator Jackson envisioned that the Foundation would become a center of extraordinary leadership in the field of medical research which would benefit both the military and civilian communities. And he envisioned it as a center of hope for those in need of services not yet developed. It is thus highly fitting that Congress designate this Foundation the "Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine."

Mr. President, Mrs. Jackson believes that this would be a very appropriate memorial to her husband. Dr. Jay Sanford, the president of the Uniformed Services University with which the Foundation will be affiliated, has also endorsed this measure.

I hope all Senators will join us on the Armed Services Committee in supporting this bill honoring the memory of our late revered colleague from Washington, Senator Henry Jackson.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with my colleagues in sponsoring this legislation to rename the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine in honor of our late colleague, Senator Henry M. Jackson. I can think of no more fitting tribute to Scoop Jackson. Many know of Scoop's contribution to our national security and defense policy. But equally impressive was his concern and dedication to the problems of our Nation's health, and in particular, to improving the quality of military medicine. Through Scoop's efforts, Congress enacted in 1972 the Uniform Services Health Profession Revitalization Act, Public Law 92-426, and established the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences. More recently, Senator Jackson was the author and driving force behind the enactment of S. 653, establishing the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine, which was signed into law May 27, 1983. The Foundation is a private, not-for-profit organization which will help support research and the search for excellence in military medicine.

Senator Jackson's interest in medicine and health was well known to all those who have worked with him during his career in the Senate. His personal physician, Col. Richard C. Dimond, M.D., who is assistant dean for Clinical Sciences and associate professor of medicine at the Uniform Services University of the Health Sciences, summarized it best, and I would like to share his comments with my colleagues.

COMMENTS OF COL. RICHARD C. DIMOND

Senator Jackson was certainly well known for his boundless energy and enthusiasm, his incisive mind, his sense of propriety, and his love of life, family, and country. Less well recognized among his many interests was his longstanding fascination with and his respect for the science and study of medicine as well as the practice and art of healing. Born in another time and place, he himself might have been a physician. He did more than marvel at the complexities of the human body for he had a genuine yearning to understand its physiology and chemistry. He refused to endorse a simplistic relationship between diagnosis and treatment, and explored the details of pharmacology and surgery while underscoring the basic principles of rational therapeutic decisions. He was genuinely interested in the problems of medical education and he recognized the process of scientific discovery, combined the art of asking meaningful questions, and the skill of answering them with meticulous certainty, a process that by its very nature was often time consuming and costly. But he also recognized that the medical profession was founded upon a sense of commitment that was inherent to the doctor-patient relationship and that the purpose of medical research was its translation into the art of healing.

In view of his genuine concern for this country and his fascination with medicine, it is not surprising that it was Senator Jackson who introduced recent legislation to establish the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine, an act designed to both promote and protect the health and well-being of our uniformed services, a seemingly small yet visionary act that linked the strength and health of our country with its future.

Mr. President, the Armed Services Committee will shortly report this bill to the full Senate, and I know my colleagues will join with us in acting to pay this fitting tribute to Senator Jackson.

FRIDAY, *September 30, 1983.*

S. 1894, HENRY M. JACKSON FOUNDATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF MILITARY MEDICINE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, next I propose to go to S. 1894, which is Calendar Order No. 411, if the minority leader does not object.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1894) to designate the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine as the "Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine", and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

AMENDMENT No. 2263

(Purpose: To amend references in title 10, U.S. Code, to the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine)

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the Senator from Texas, Mr. Tower, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Tennessee, Mr. Baker, on behalf of Mr. Tower, proposes an amendment numbered 2263.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the bill add the following new section:

SEC. 2. (a)(1) Section 178 of title 10, U.S. Code, is amended—

(A) by inserting “The Henry M. Jackson” before “Foundation” in the section heading; and

(B) by inserting “Henry M. Jackson” before “Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine” in subsection (a).

(2) The item in the table of sections at the beginning of chapter 7 of such title relating to section 178 is amended to read as follows:

“178. The Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine.”.

(b) Section 2113(j) of title 10, U.S. Code, is amended by inserting “Henry M. Jackson” before “Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine” each place it appears.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 2263) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

SENATE BILL 1894

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine established pursuant to section 178 of title 10, U.S. Code, shall be designated and hereafter known as the “Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine”, in honor of the late Henry M. Jackson, U.S. Senator from the State of Washington. Any reference to the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine in any law, regulation, document, record, or other paper of the United States shall be held and considered to be a reference to the “Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine”.

(b) The Council of Directors referred to in subsection (c) of section 178 of such title shall take such action as is necessary under the Corporations and Associations Articles of the State of Maryland to amend the corporate name of the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine established under such section to reflect the designation made by the first sentence of subsection (a).

SEC. 2. (a)(1) Section 178 of title 10, U.S. Code, is amended—

(A) by inserting "The Henry M. Jackson" before "Foundation" in the section heading; and

(B) by inserting "The Henry M. Jackson" before "Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine" in subsection (a).

(2) The item in the table of sections at the beginning of chapter 7 of such title relating to section 178 is amended to read as follows:

"178. The Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine."

(b) Section 2113(j) of title 10, U.S. Code, is amended by inserting "Henry M. Jackson" before "Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine" each place it appears.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, S. 1837 is cleared on this side, if the minority leader is prepared to consider it.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, S. 1837 is cleared on this side.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Senator.

Proceedings in the House

WEDNESDAY, *October 5, 1983.*

HENRY M. JACKSON FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF MILITARY MEDICINE

Mr. PRICE. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Armed Services be discharged from further consideration of the bill (S. 1894) to designate the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine as the "Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine," and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

SENATE BILL 1894

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine established pursuant to section 178 of title 10, U.S. Code, shall be designated and hereafter known as the "Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine", in honor of the late Henry M. Jackson, U.S. Senator from the State of Washington. Any reference to the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine in any law, regulation, document, record, or other paper of the United States shall be held and considered to be a reference to the "Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine".

(b) The Council of Directors referred to in subsection (c) of section 178 of such title shall take such action as is necessary under the Corporations and Associations Articles of the State of Maryland to amend the corporate name of the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine established under such section to reflect the designation made by the first sentence of subsection (a).

SEC. 2. (a)(1) Section 178 of title 10, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by inserting “The Henry M. Jackson” before “Foundation” in the section heading; and

(B) by inserting “The Henry M. Jackson” before “Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine” in subsection (a).

(2) The item in the table of sections at the beginning of chapter 7 of such title relating to section 178 is amended to read as follows:

“178. The Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine.”.

(b) Section 2113(j) of title 10, U.S. Code, is amended by inserting “Henry M. Jackson” before “Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine” each place it appears.

Mr. PRICE. Madam Speaker, earlier this year, Congress approved legislation establishing the Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine to support the activities of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences. The university was established by Congress in 1972 to train medical officers for the uniformed services and to provide programs in continuing medical education for military members of the health professions. The Foundation is a nonprofit, charitable corporation that will receive gifts, grants, and legacies on behalf of the university.

The guiding force behind the establishment of the foundation was Senator “Scoop” Jackson. He authored the legislation and worked tirelessly for its expeditious passage through both the House and the Senate. Later today, Members of the House will have an opportunity to express their personal respect and admiration for the late Senator from Washington during the special order of the gentleman from Washington Mr. Foley. It is a fitting tribute to Senator Jackson to name the foundation in his honor—the Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Federal Building, Seattle, Wash.

Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *September 13, 1983.*

S. 1837, HENRY M. JACKSON FEDERAL BUILDING

By Mr. GORTON (for himself and Mr. Evans):

S. 1837. A bill to designate the Federal building in Seattle, Wash., as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building"; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

HENRY M. JACKSON FEDERAL BUILDING

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I am honored to introduce a bill with Senator Evans to designate the Federal office building in Seattle, Wash., as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building." It is with a deep sense of personal loss and sadness that I introduce this bill today, but I believe it is entirely appropriate that we name the Federal office building after a man who played such an important role for so many years in our Federal Government and in the State of Washington.

Senator Jackson was a statesman who served the State of Washington and the Nation with distinction, pride, and honor. His life's work was motivated by his deep love for his country, its people, and its institutions. His impressive career in the U.S. Congress, spanning more than 42 years, was dedicated to improving and protecting our great Nation. Over the last week, we have been reminded of the magnitude of Senator Jackson's accomplishments.

The Henry M. Jackson Federal Bulding will be a living memorial to the people and institutions Senator Jackson valued so deeply. I urge my colleagues to join me in promptly enacting this legislation as a tribute to a great man who dedicated his life to serving his country.

FRIDAY, September 30, 1983.

S. 1837, HENRY M. JACKSON FEDERAL BUILDING

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate Calendar Order No. 431, S. 1837.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1837) to designate the Federal building in Seattle, Wash., as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

SENATE BILL 1837

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the building located at 915 Second Avenue, Seattle, Wash., known as the Federal Building, shall hereafter be known and designated as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building". Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, record, or other paper of the United States to that building shall be deemed to be a reference to the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building".

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Proceedings in the House

FRIDAY, *November 18, 1983.*

S. 1837, HENRY M. JACKSON FEDERAL BUILDING

Mr. YOUNG of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the Senate bill (S. 1837) to designate the Federal Building in Seattle, Wash., as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building."

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. EDGAR. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the chairman if it is only a naming bill that we are considering at this point and nothing additional is added to it.

Mr. YOUNG of Missouri. If the gentleman will yield, the answer is that it is just a naming bill for the late Senator Jackson of Washington.

Mr. EDGAR. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. FRENZEL. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, can the gentleman assure us that there will be no cost other than the cost of the signs or changing the stationery, or whatever?

Mr. YOUNG of Missouri. If the gentleman will yield, I can assure the gentleman that there will be no additional cost.

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. SHAW. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, and I shall not object, but I do so in order that the gentleman from Missouri might advise the House the contents of this bill.

Mr. YOUNG of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, S. 1837 would designate that the Federal building in Seattle, Wash., be known as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building."

Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues are aware, "Scoop" Jackson, a nickname he acquired as a child, was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1940 and served six terms here before defeating an incumbent Senator in 1953 and, therefore, took a seat in the Senate which he held until his untimely death on September 1, 1983. At the time of his death, Senator Jackson was 71 and had served in Congress more than 42 years, including 30 years in the Senate.

Senator Jackson was a man totally dedicated to the needs of both his constituents and the Nation as a whole. Henry Martin Jackson was born on May 31, 1912 in the milltown of Everett, Wash., the youngest of the four children of Peter and Marine Jackson, who had both emigrated from Norway before they met and married. When Henry Jackson was 4, his sister Gertrude gave him the nickname "Scoop" because she thought he resembled a comic-strip cub reporter of that name who managed to maneuver others into doing his work.

While attending local public schools, Jackson established a reputation for hard work and business acumen as a paperboy for the Everett Daily Herald. After graduating in 1930 from Everett High School, he briefly attended Stanford University in California. Subsequently, he obtained his B.A. degree from the University of Washington in Seattle, and obtained his LL.B. degree from its law school in 1935.

Senator Jackson served as prosecuting attorney of his native Snohomish County from 1938 to 1940. During his term, Jackson crusaded against bordellos, gambling houses, and speakeasies, earning for himself the nickname "Soda Pop."

Elected as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives in November 1940, Jackson served for six consecutive terms. He enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1943 but retained his House seat and returned to Washington, D.C. in early 1944, after President Roosevelt recalled all uniformed Congressmen to the Capitol. Jackson was elected to the U.S. Senate in November 1952 and served in that position until his untimely death on September 1, 1983. Senator Jackson is survived by his wife and two children, Anna Marie and Peter Hardin.

During his tenure in the Congress, he was a strong supporter of a large Defense budget and an anti-Communist interventionist in foreign policy. In the domestic field, Senator Jackson made his name with environmental legislation, namely, he was the author of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. He worked tirelessly in an effort to restore the economy to full health. Energy issues were high on his legislative agenda. Senator Jackson was a man who always had the national viewpoint and his record of service in the Congress indicate quite clearly the contributions he made not only to his constituents but to the Nation as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, I urge enactment of S. 1837.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, S. 1837 would designate that the Federal Building in Seattle, Wash., be known as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building."

Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues are aware, Scoop Jackson, a nickname he acquired as a child, was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1940 and served six terms here before defeating an incumbent Senator in 1953 and, therefore, took a seat in the Senate which he held until his untimely death on September 1, 1983. At the time of his death, Senator Jackson was 71 and had served in Congress more than 42 years, including 30 years in the Senate. In July 1983, Senator Jackson cast his 11,000th rollcall vote as a Senator and drew a standing ovation from his colleagues for achieving that milestone.

Disciplined and hard working, as unassuming as a next-door neighbor, the Senator from the State of Washington was held in high esteem by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. Within the broad spectrum of American politics, Scoop Jackson defied classification as either a liberal or a conservative. Probably no other man or woman in Congress had so powerful a voice on so many leading issues; oil and energy, détente

and trade policy with the Russians, nuclear weapons and land use, to name a few.

One of his landmark legislative achievements was the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. Senator Jackson fought for years to push through legislation which established the first coherent national policies and goals for the environment. By requiring all Federal agencies to file environmental impact statements on projects they proposed, the legislation put a powerful tool in the hands of environmentalists.

During his tenure in the Congress, his powerful role in the American defense structure enabled Senator Jackson to play an extremely important role in the U.S. arms control policy. He took a strong line in dealing with the Soviet intervention in Africa and Asia and the Middle East. He was for an expanded Defense program to enable the United States to close what he perceived to be a strategic weapons gap with the Soviets.

Senator Jackson was firmly committed to reducing inflation and insisted that the issue be a priority goal of the Government.

Mr. Speaker, Senator Jackson was a man totally dedicated to the needs of both his constituents and the Nation as a whole. He was a distinguished and articulate member of numerous subcommittees and full committees during his years in the Congress. He was a man of incredible integrity and intelligence—of commitment and capacity. He was a man of compassion, courage, and high principle.

To conclude, Mr. Speaker, on September 1, 1983, this Nation lost one of its best and wisest leaders. Henry Jackson was a national resource and he is sorely missed in the Halls of Congress. Mr. Speaker, I urge enactment of S. 1837.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, I do not object, and urge the adoption of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Senate Bill 1837

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the building located at 915 Second Avenue, Seattle, Wash., known as the Federal Building, shall hereafter be known and designated as the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building". Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, record, or other paper of the United States to that building shall be deemed to be a reference to the "Henry M. Jackson Federal Building".

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Communications

RESOLUTION FROM THE NATIONAL BIPARTISAN
COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

The Secretary of the Senate submitted for the Record the following resolution of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, together with the letter of transmittal from Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Chairman, dated September 8, 1983:

THE NATIONAL BIPARTISAN
COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA,
Washington, D.C., September 8, 1983.

HON. WILLIAM FRYE HILDENBRAND,
Secretary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HILDENBRAND: On September 7, 1983, the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America unanimously adopted a resolution dedicating its meeting to the memory of Senator Henry M. Jackson. In accordance with that resolution, I am forwarding a copy to you with the request that it be made part of the Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 98th Congress.

Sincerely,

HENRY A. KISSINGER.

Enclosure: September 7, 1983 resolution.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

[Adopted September 7, 1983]

Whereas, Henry M. Jackson, a Senator from the State of Washington, has met his untimely death on Thursday, September 1, 1983, and;

Whereas, he served his country with great dedication and with unexcelled legislative skills, leaving his imprint in such diverse areas as national security, energy, and the environment, and;

Whereas, his private and public life were beyond reproach; who was sincere and equitable; honest and honorable; respected and warm; and;

Whereas, he conceived the idea of a Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and;

Whereas, he was a valued senior counselor on the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and;

Whereas, we dedicate this meeting in memory of our colleague and friend, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington: Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That this Commission, when it adjourns today, do so in the name and on behalf of the members of the National Bipartisan Commission on Cen-

tral America, with deep and sincere regret and in respect to the memory of Henry M. Jackson; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chairman of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America forward a copy of this resolution to Mrs. Jackson, the widow of Senator Henry M. Jackson; and also that a copy be forwarded to the Secretary of the U.S. Senate with a request that this resolution be made part of the Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 98th Congress.

Resolved, This Seventh day of September, 1983.

HENRY A. KISSINGER, *Chairman*.

RESOLUTION FROM THE TERRITORY OF GUAM

POM-416. A resolution adopted by the Legislature of the Territory of Guam; ordered to lie on the table:

“RESOLUTION No. 291

“Whereas, Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson was elected U.S. Senator by the people of Washington and began serving on January 3, 1953; and

“Whereas, Senator Jackson served for many years as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and its successor the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources; and

“Whereas, during his tenure as chairman many significant changes were made in Federal laws affecting Guam; and

“Whereas, Senator Jackson was instrumental in the passage of two laws which greatly enhanced self-government by the people of Guam—the 1968 “elected governor” law and the 1972 “Guam’s nonvoting delegate to Congress” law; and

“Whereas, Senator Jackson frequently stood as an advocate for the territories and Guam in particular; and

“Whereas, the people of Guam felt the loss of a true friend when they learned of the untimely passing of Senator Jackson; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Seventeenth Guam Legislature, on behalf of the people of Guam, extends sincere condolences to the family of the late Senator Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson; and be it further

Resolved, That the Seventeenth Guam Legislature extends its condolences to the people of Washington who have lost one of their finest sons; and be it further

Resolved, That the Speaker certify to and the Legislative Secretary attest the adoption hereof and that copies of the same be thereafter transmitted to the widow of the late Senator Jackson, Helen Jackson; to the Governor of Washington; to the President of the U.S. Senate; to Guam’s Congressional Delegate; and to the Governor of Guam.”

Henry M. Jackson Foundation

HENRY M. JACKSON FOUNDATION

1050 THOMAS JEFFERSON STREET NW.,
Washington, D.C.

The Henry M. Jackson Foundation has been established as a living memorial to Senator Jackson, who died on September 1, 1983.

Senator Jackson gave the country 43 years of dedicated and constructive service as counselor, senior statesman, Congressman, and Senator under nine Presidents. He made decisive contributions in diverse areas of public policy ranging from national security and arms control to human rights, education, and energy. In retrospect, his public service is viewed as synonymous with integrity, with decency, and with courage.

The Jackson Foundation will seek to perpetuate the Senator's ideals and foster the qualities of leadership he brought to national and international affairs over more than four decades. It will further his lifetime interest in better national decisionmaking in international affairs through a broad range of programs, including substantial support for the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington.

The Foundation will seek to enhance the national role of the Jackson School through visiting professorships, scholarships and other forms of support that will make the school a national and international center for study of critical world problems. Particular efforts will be made to extend the school's reach—to assure that public officials, diplomats, journalists and others working in international fields may benefit from its programs.

In order to perpetuate Senator Jackson's ideas and interests, the Foundation will also support charitable and educational activities at other institutions. These might include lectures by distinguished Americans and leaders from other nations, international symposia, and the support of programs to improve public understanding of critical issues in Sino-Soviet-U.S. relationships. Consideration is also being given to Foundation sponsorship of an annual Jackson Prize to honor significant contributions to the preservation of world order.

Senator Jackson was convinced that greater understanding of the history, languages, and cultures of the Asian, Slavic, and Middle Eastern nations was indispensable to an effective U.S. role in safeguarding peace and the future of individual freedom. He became deeply interested in and personally committed to developing this understanding through education and scholarship. The Foundation will further this commitment.

HELEN HARDIN JACKSON, *Chairman.*



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